

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

EDITOR : D. N. Majumdar

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THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

(A Quarterly Record of Ethnography and Folk Culture)

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The Eastern Anthropologist is a quarterly Journal published from Lucknow.

Each number of the Journal will include (1) Original Articles, (2) Notes and comments including the announcements and reports of the proceedings of the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, (3) Brief Communications, including short original notes and correspondence, (4) Research News and Views and (5) Reviews of Recent Books.

All communications printed in the Eastern Anthropologist are signed or initialed by their authors. The Council of the Society desires it to be understood that in giving publicity to them it accepts no responsibility for the statements and opinions expressed by them.

Contributors are requested to send their manuscripts clearly typed on one side of the paper, giving accurate references of literature they cite. Books for review, and reprints of papers for notice in the 'Research News and Views' section, as well as original articles and notes should be sent to:

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NOTES & COMMENTS

At the annual general meeting of the Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society, U. P., held on May 14, 1956, under the presidentship of Sri B. D. Sanwal, I.C.S., Vice-president of the Society, the following persons were elected to the executive committee of the Society, for the year 1956-57.

President. Dr. Sita Ram D.Lt. (Hon); Sri B. D. Sanwal I.C.S., and Sri B. S. Haikerwal M. A., LL.B., Ph.D., as Vice-presidents, Prof. D. N. Majumdar as Honorary Secretary and editor of the Eastern Anthropologist, Assistant Secretary Miss Shanta Bhutani, M.A., LL.B. and Dr. N. A. Khan, Ph.D as honorary Treasurer. The following persons were elected members of the Executive Committee. Sri Dineshwar Dayal Seth M.A., LL.B., Dr. K. D. Upadhyaya M.A., Ph.D., Sri D. K. Sen M.Sc., Dr. S. N. Chakrabarty M.D. and Mrs. Kusum Harinarayan M.A.

* * * * *

The following is a summary of the budget of the Society for the year 1956-57.

Income		Expenses	
Balance b/f from the previous year	896-13- 8	Scholarship	1,200- 0- 0
Government Grant	2,500- 0- 0	Establishment	1,200- 0- 0
Sale of Publications	1,700- 0- 0	Printing	2,500- 0- 0
		Postage	300- 0- 0
		Contingency	300- 0- 0
		Balance	5,500- 0- 0
		to be carried forward	596-13- 8
	6,096-13- 8		6,096-13- 8
Publication Fund	2,000- 0- 0	Investment in National Saving Certificates	2,000- 0- 0
	8,096-13- 8		8,096-13- 8
Total Income	Rs. 8,096-13- 8	Total Expenditure	5,500- 0- 0
		Balance with the State Bank, Lucknow	2,596-13- 8
			8,096-13- 8

Certified as correct by the Local Funds Auditor, deputed by the State Ministry of Education, for auditing the accounts.

The Cornell-Lucknow Centre which was initiated in 1953 as a joint research project by the Departments of Anthropology, Lucknow University, India and Cornell University, New York, U.S.A., and financed by the Ford Foundation, carried out evaluation study of Culture Change in Rankhandi, a multi-caste village in the district of Saharanpur and in Gohana Kalla, Lucknow district and in Dudhi, Mirzapur District, for a little over two years. The project was wound up in May, 1956, when Cornell University withdrew from Rankhandi. The evaluation study in Dudhi could not be completed and the Planning Commission has accepted the responsibility of financing the Dudhi project for another year, i.e. till May 1957.

* * * * *

The Cornell-Lucknow project was the first of its kind as it envisaged close cooperation in field studies between an Indian and an American University. Dr. M. E. Opler was named Director of the India programme of the Cornell University and Prof. D. N. Majumdar was his counterpart on the Lucknow side. It is too early to assess the value of such cooperative efforts in the field of social sciences as the results have not been published. The project was unfortunate from the beginning as Dr. Opler could not work in India and direct the operations due to his other assignments and his wife's illness, and the field study, its implementation and direction, both were left to younger people, who did not possess the maturity needed for such large scale field assignments. Cornell was not able to import a mature scholar and the work suffered, as it is natural, with absentee director whose knowledge of field conditions could not be adequate. It must be said to the credit of the Cornell team that they made the best of a difficult situation and some valuable studies have been made by individual research scholars, which they are going to use for their doctorate requirements. The project was ill fated from the beginning due to want of an able director from the Cornell side who could explain and interpret the aims and purposes of such studies, and the Indian personnel in Rankhandi did not come up to the expectations as they needed training which was not available. The Lucknow side of the project did receive adequate supervision, and two village studies one on Gohanakala, and the other on Dhanaura in Dudhi, are being completed by the Department of anthropology, with financial help from the Planning Commission. It would be a mistake to suggest that Indian Universities are not anxious to cooperate with foreign Universities in field studies. Our experience if it is a pointer, indicates on the other hand, that such cooperation is possible and can be fruitful, if there is understanding and accommodation on both sides. In this case Lucknow University, Department of Anthropology entered into

an agreement with Cornell University with high hopes, of being able to train up a batch of post graduate students in anthropology on methodology and field techniques but due to circumstances beyond control, the expectations were not fulfilled. This however does not mean that we have burnt our fingers and should not put them on fire again. We welcome cooperation with foreign scientists and scholars, and we are anxious to profit by them and we expect them to do so by us. Social sciences can prosper, by interdisciplinary participation and by collaboration with scientists from different countries and the frontiers of the social sciences and the limits of collaboration are not sealed, as some imagine. From the Lucknow side, we offer our grateful thanks to the Ford Foundation and to the Cornell University for the opportunities provided to us and to the members of the Cornell team for their cooperation, though it could be further highlighted if the circumstances were more favourable.

* * * * *

The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, has approved and sanctioned a grant for the initiation of a Diploma course in Applied Anthropology and Tribal Welfare. The Diploma is intended to provide training to graduates for welfare assignments. This is the first systematic training programme in scientific approach to problems of rural life and tribal welfare. The Department of Anthropology at Lucknow has earmarked a quota for admission to the course for every state which has a tribal population and is desirous of taking advantage of the training provided for. Students of scheduled tribes and Castes, who want to join the Diploma course should, on acceptance, apply for Government of India scholarship earmarked for them, as announced recently. The course is a one year one and involves training both in theory and practice and is proposed to be initiated from the next academic session.

* * * * *

An expedition to Rupkund, 18,000 ft. above the sea level, where hundreds of skeletons have been discovered lying littered, was led by Prof. D. N. Majumdar in May, 1956. The team consisted of Prof. Majumdar, Prof. G. M. Kurulkar, Head of the Department of Anatomy, G. S. Medical College, Bombay, Mr. B. S. Tewari, M.Sc., Lecturer in Geology, Lucknow University; Dr. M. N. Bose, Ph.D., of the Palaeobotanical Institute, Lucknow; Mr. D. K. Sen, Lecturer in Physical anthropology, Lucknow University; Mr. A. K. Ghosh, soil chemist, Allahabad Agricultural Institute; Dr. M. N. Mehrotra, M.B.B.S., Chief Medical Officer, Canning College, Lucknow University; Dr. J. S. Sharma, M.B.B.S., Jaipur Medical College; Mr. R. P. Joshi; Mr. K. N. Saxena; Mr. V. Chandra, and some students of anthropology,

Lucknow University. The Information Department, State Government of Uttar Pradesh, provided a Camera Unit under Sri V. Chandra, for filming the expedition. The party reached Rupkund on the 24th May, and for three days, studied the site and approaches, contours, and configuration, stratigraphy, and other details. Both on the journey up and down, the party collected folklore and traditional beliefs about Rupkund from the villages at lower altitudes. The site was under 12 ft. of snow and no digging was possible, but some specimens of great significance could be collected. A smaller unit of the party will be visiting Rupkund early September, this year, to do the digging in Rupkund as that is the only time when Rupkund can be seen naked.

The artifacts and bones that were collected earlier in September, 1955, have been examined, and some remain to be done. As the facilities for dating the finds could not be had in India, they have been sent abroad and we are expecting the results of scrutiny by the experts to whom we have sent the material for examination. The state Government of Uttar Pradesh made a grant to the Department of Anthropology for the expedition, and the members of the team met part of the expenses themselves. In view of the country-wide interest on the Rupkund mystery, the responsibility of the scientists has become greater and that is why, we are waiting for expert opinion on all facets of the problem.

* * * * *

We are happy to record that the Australian National University has awarded a scholarship, to Mr. T. N. Madan, Lecturer in Anthropology, Lucknow University, to enable him to receive further training and research experience, at an Australian University. Mr. K. S. Mathur, of the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University has been the first Indian scholar to have received the first award, and Mr. Madan is the recipient of the second award to India. Mr. Mathur will complete his three years' research at Canberra in February next year when he will return to the Department and Mr. Madan has three years to go. It is most unfortunate that Dr. S. F. Nadal who conceived the idea of an International exchange of Scholars in anthropology for the Australian National University should be no longer with these scholars and his premature death must have been a great shock to the scholars who were anxious to learn at his feet, but the Australian National University has been taking immense interest to train up the scholars and we are sure, they will successfully complete their training and be available to the countries they have gone from. Mr. Madan has been in charge of our review section, and we are missing him badly, but we know that when he returns to us, he will be more useful and will contribute more effectively to the task which he has made his own.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

S. HOFSTRA

At the present time when on the one hand we live in fear of the atomic bomb and when on the other hand we are trying to derive more and more benefits from science, for instance, in the form of economic and industrial development, it is not difficult to realise, in a very general way, that science has become a great and powerful factor in modern society. But it is possible to probe somewhat deeper than the facts which are obvious to everybody. And when we do this we are confronted with questions like, for instances, the following ones :—

What is the value of science; is it simply a pragmatic value or also, or perhaps mainly, a spiritual one ? is science a danger for society or a blessing ? what place ought science and scientific thinking to occupy in society and in our lives, and similar problems ? They are, consciously or unconsciously, problems with which society is struggling to-day and which occupy the minds not only of sociologists who have created a new branch of their subject, namely a sociology of knowledge and of science, but of scientists in the more restricted sense and of philosophers, statesmen and other responsible people as well. These questions cause a good deal of anxiety, doubts and heart-searching among us at present.

There has been a time when, especially in the West, people took rather an unreservedly optimistic attitude towards science. The 19th century especially was characterised by a great faith in the future, by a strong belief in the gradual development of mankind from lower to higher stages, it possessed abundant confidence in the progress of the human mind and of culture and civilization along more or less immanent lines, according to a plan which was unfolding itself in the course of history, if not automatically then certainly with a great degree of necessity. Science was destined to play the leading, or at any rate, an important part in this process of development and progress, the fundamental principles of which were not questioned for a long time.

To-day, except when we are referring to problems of technological and economic growth, the words progress and development are less often used and certainly with more doubts when they are applied to the human mind and to society and civilization as a whole.

Now-a-days, and during the past twenty or thirty years despair and criticism in regard to science have become nearly as general and certainly in many circles as fashionable as formerly a laudatory and

optimistic attitudes were. It seems to me, however, that, here as in other fields, pessimism is as little justified as is optimism. Both optimism and pessimism are usually based on moods and emotional judgements somewhat arrogantly assuming that we, in the short span of history which our planet has known till now, are able to pronounce evaluations on the final outcome of that history and on the pattern of development which that history is taking. In an important issue like this one it is wise to try to reason as rationally and as dispassionately as is possible.

The relation between society and science can be regarded as a two-sided relation, as a relation of mutual inter-dependence. Society influences science. It conditions to a large extent the very existence of science, the shape science takes and the possibilities it possesses. Science is stimulated as well as conditioned by the problems a particular society poses and by the type of society in which it works, it is either helped or handicapped by society in its development. There certainly exists in the history of human thought and of scientific thought a form of disinterested, non-pragmatic thinking, relatively free and independent from connections with immediate socio-economic demands and needs. This applies especially to the higher realms of mathematical and physical research. But in a larger context it can be said that in the history of science practical problems have to a large degree influenced the topics and contents of scientific investigation. Science in the restricted sense has especially been stimulated by new developments in industry and other material aspects of civilization.

Especially when science becomes more and more institutionalised and less an affair of independent research and thinking by private individuals, as was the case in the beginning of the history of any branch of science; when science is needing institutions and institutes and team work for research, and when more and more collective activities come into the foreground, the dependence of science on society becomes greater and greater. Moreover, the ideology of a particular society or of a prevailing class is often reflected in the language of science and its problems and ethos, especially in the humanities and in the social sciences.

This whole development of an expanding science and its close connection with society, unavoidable as it is, has its dangerous as well as its beneficial aspects. The beneficial aspects, at any rate in the material realm, are rather obvious and need not be stressed. A few words, therefore, about the dangers. It is understandable that society is inclined to spend more money on sciences which are regarded as useful in the immediate sense than on other fields of learning. But society has to realize that the seemingly less useful subjects may have their long-term usefulness, if not for the immediate

improvement of material conditions, then for the cultivation of the human mind without which material improvements have in the long run, little sense. Moreover, remote as some subjects may seem to be, it is always possible that something of practical value may ultimately emerge from them. This has often been the case in the pursuit of disinterested, non-pragmatically orientated knowledge, for instance, in the physical sciences.

There always exists, furthermore, the danger in our world that societies which ideologically speaking attach a lesser value to independent, critical, free thinking favour one-sidedly those sciences which require the least amount of spiritual freedom. And in that sense, of course, especially the humanities and more particularly the social sciences can only flourish in societies where the climate of opinion is congenial to their development, where freedom of investigation into any subject is assumed and where freedom of communication is guaranteed. Technical and physical sciences can also develop in a dictatorial society—as a matter of fact some form of technical knowledge will have existed and been valued in every culture, from the earliest beginnings of mankind. The humanities and the social sciences need, however, another social and spiritual climate in which the human spirit can move more freely on a not exclusively pragmatic level.

In pointing out the importance of society for scientific development, one must, of course, keep in mind that this development is also to a large extent dependent upon personalities, the personalities of the individual scientific workers. Personal ability or genius fortunately, still counts a good deal in the progress of all branches of advanced knowledge. Without specific capacities of a people or of a number of people within a culture a science cannot originate nor develop. And it still remains a somewhat unsolved problem why in one civilization a high degree of knowledge in certain specific fields would be obtained while other civilizations lagged behind in that particular direction.

Finally, society is also important for science in a way which is the more immediate concern of many students, namely in regard to the number of jobs society can provide them, the kind of avenues which are open to them. It is clear that here again the type of society in which we are living, its needs, are of great significance. And the type of study a student may choose will in many cases depend on what he regards as his future chances in a particular subject. In present day England, for instance, there is a great demand for technically trained people on a higher level and it is but natural that many capable students turn that way. This problem is, of course, of very great and nearly tragic importance for India with its great amount of unemployment among graduates.

My remarks till now have dealt with the influence of society on science. The other side of the process: the impact of science on society is for the common man most clearly shown in its dramatic or its spectacular aspects. I have already referred, for instance, to the atomic bomb and to the inventions which influence our every day life. But apart from these obvious aspects it is in general clear that knowledge and science exercise a great and increasing influence on modern society in the East as well as in the West and that they have become, for better or for worse, extremely powerful factors in our lives.

It would be wrong to think that in former or ancient early civilizations no scientific knowledge existed. Even in primitive culture some form of rational or technical knowledge of a simple nature formed part of that culture. And I only need to remind you of the great achievements of astronomy, mathematics and other branches of learning in classical civilizations in East and West, in order to make clear that science is not a phenomenon peculiar to our time.

But on the other hand, it is undeniable that only in the last two centuries, especially in the last decades in Western countries, has scientific development, based on experiment, supported by rational thought and stimulated by the socio-economic needs of society, made tremendous and unprecedented progress, leading to many discoveries hitherto never dreamed of. Scientific advancement, especially, in the applied form in which it finds practical expression in many inventions, used in industrial and other ways of technical development, has become and is in ever increasing degree becoming the prime mover in the great processes of change which the world everywhere is undergoing. I need hardly go into details of this phenomenon, which is as puzzling as it is important, which has become as vital for our society as it has at the same time become disquieting.

When, however, we talk about the influence of science, it is well to make a certain reservation. Every important part of culture, whether it is religion or art or science or philosophy, consists of several aspects. There is the institutional aspect, for science embodied in its teaching and research institutions, there are the persons working in one capacity or another in a science, there is, furthermore, a certain body of established and of developing knowledge, and there is, as a final and important aspect, a certain way of thinking, of independence of mind, of a speculative spirit, of an earnest endeavour to reach in an objective way truth, irrespective of the outcome. This whole way of critical as well as constructive thinking is the necessary basis for all science in the true sense. How far has this spirit penetrated our culture which readily accepts the pragmatic results of science? How far has this spirit penetrated even the scientific people themselves in their whole way of thinking, apart from their narrow field

of teaching or research ? Even to raise these questions implies some doubts. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote here a remark once made by the famous English mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell : "If you," he said, "number among your acquaintances some eminent man of science, accustomed to the minutest quantitative precisions in his experiments and the most abstruse skill in his inference from them, you will be able to make him the subject of a little experiment which is likely to be by no means unilluminating. If you tackle him on party politics, theology, income tax, house-agents, the bumptiousness of the working classes and other topics of a like nature, you are pretty sure, before long, to provoke an explosion, and to hear him expressing wholly untested opinions with a dogmatism which he would never display in regard to the well-founded results of his laboratory experiments." (The scientific outlook, p. 16). As in religion it is easier to adhere to the ritualistic rules of an established institution than to follow in a true spirit the ethics of that religion, so in science it is easier to follow the lines of thinking and research in a particular narrow field than to be penetrated in your whole life by the more general spirit of scientific, objective and disinterested thinking.

Until now my remarks on the relation between science and society have been concerned with the facts of that relation. There is also the problem of values, of our evaluation of that relation. Here again we can distinguish between the valuations of society on the one hand and of science on the other hand. One of the criteria by which the value attached by society to science can be measured consists in the degree of priority given in the whole of a country's expenditure to education and to university education in general and by the particular type of science which receives the greatest percentage of the money available for university institutions.

It is not only in India and countries in similar conditions which are struggling for their economic improvement and which necessarily have to spend a great deal of their income on the material aspects of their culture that only a relatively small percentage of the people's income and expenditure is spent on education, but everywhere in the world, in the Western countries too, the case is the same. I am not talking, of course, of the many sacrifices which many people are prepared to undertake for the education of their children. I have in mind countries as a whole. Far more money is spent by governments everywhere on defence or similar matters and by peoples themselves, taken as a whole, at any rate in the West, on articles like tobacco, alcohol or sweets, or for that matter on entertainment, than on education and the cultivation of the mind. In India, I hope conditions may, in this latter aspect, compare favourably with the West. Moreover, one has to take into account that the bare

struggle for life is so much harder here than it is in many Western countries.

The disproportion mentioned here can be stated while at the same time we have to give due recognition to the fact that, especially since the last war, great efforts have been made in the field of education all over the world, though there is still much to be desired, institutions in many countries, including Indian universities, have to a greater or lesser degree profited from a more generous attitude taken by governments towards education in recent years.

I am not entitled to pronounce any general opinion on the system of higher education prevalent in India. I know that competent persons and committees have several times attempted to analyse the situation and to suggest means for improvement. What perhaps as a foreigner you will allow me to say is that whatever may be deficient, whatever may justly be criticised and whatever remains to be desired, we must not close our eyes to what has been achieved, to what in a non-spectacular, but nevertheless effective, way is being achieved everyday in universities and colleges, very often in difficult material circumstances. And I cannot help expressing admiration for so many of your teachers as well as for a great number of students who notwithstanding these difficulties apply themselves simply to their duties and with good results. Criticism, of course, is good, is necessary, and if it is constructive, it is far more helpful than any form of self-complacency. One must never forget, however, that India is at the moment in the midst of a huge process of transformation and transition, a process unavoidably accompanied by stresses and strains, by a disproportion between resources and ideals, by a conflict between values, by a struggle also between conservative and progressive thought. Many of the deficiencies which can rightly be pointed out at present are—it has often been said already—unavoidable at present considering the great number of students, the relatively small number of universities, the disproportion in many cases between the ambitions of many students to receive a university degree for purely economic reasons and their capacities, and, finally, an insufficient number of qualified teachers to cope with the great number of students and to satisfy scientific standards of education. All these deficiencies, leading to a great deal of simple book-learning and memorizing and to training just for the purpose of getting ready for an examination are there. But it is not right, I think, to lay the blame exclusively on one factor, either, for instance, on the system of examination, or on the teachers, or, more often, on the students. All these factors together form part of the general condition, and it is, if you will forgive me one moment of preaching, the duty of everybody concerned, of teachers and students as well as of authorities, not to blame each other, but to sit together in finding

constructive ways of improvement. For this patience and wisdom are as necessary as is a justifiable desire to change conditions; self-criticism, I would suggest, is here as well as in other fields, as helpful as is criticism of others.

I am told sometimes that among many Indian young people, among young intellectuals especially, there exists a sense of frustration at present. The feeling may be partly due to the fact that it is often difficult to compete on the intellectual market, to get a job which has some relation to the knowledge acquired during university training and which meets the expectation of the students. It is a difficult problem for the Indian universities to decide whether the number of admitted students ought to be further limited and whether some planning in education ought to be done in the sense that an estimate will be made of the kind of jobs which will likely to be required in the next five or ten years, so that students can make their choice of a subject according to the needs of the country. Something can certainly be done in this way, when, for instance, scholarships are distributed over several subjects. At the same time I cannot help feeling that as long as possible individual choice of a subject of study must be preserved and that the non-pragmatic subjects, especially in the humanities, have their more lasting value too. But then, students taking this latter kind of subject, have of course to be prepared to accept some risks in regard to their future.

The frustration which I mentioned may also be partly due to the fact that before independence the struggle for freedom absorbed a good deal of the energy also of the youth and that now many young people still have to switch over to other values, to the great task of rebuilding India, a task which is less spectacular and dramatic than the fight for freedom, and which needs a more patient and sustained effort, but which nevertheless is as vital and necessary as the former ideal which has now been realised. Here again I feel extremely reluctant to give any advice, but I may perhaps suggest to younger intellectuals that outside the political sphere that there are many problems to be solved and many values worthwhile to devote your energy to, values which are as vital to your own happiness as they are to the future of India.

I have tried to put before you some reflections on the responsibility of society towards science and on the values implied in the attitude of society towards science. I will now make a few remarks in regard to the other side of the picture, on the responsibility of science and on its values. There is in the first place the problem which I mentioned already, namely: how far can scientists go in contributing to research of which they know that directly or indirectly it leads to or is meant to lead to further knowledge about the means of destruction of human beings. This frightful dilemma

has harrassed some of the best minds among them especially during the last twenty or thirty years. It is perhaps not possible to lay down rules of conduct in what really is a very complicated matter, complicated already by the fact that even the purest research may lead to results with dangerous implications. But certainly the scientist cannot avoid responsibility and he has to search his own conscience in every particular case and type of research with which he is confronted and decide whether he should pursue further knowledge in that field or not. It would be wrong to blame scientists exclusively for the present deplorable development, especially in the field of nuclear weapons, but scientists are, on the other hand, certainly not excused by the argument that inventions and knowledge in itself are not good or bad, but that it is only the use people make of them that makes them good or bad. This is an escape from responsibility as well as from a realization of the complexity of the problems involved. Fortunately, there is a growing body of opinion among scientists which is fully aware of that responsibility and which raises its voice against the misuse of scientific knowledge. I only mention here the names of Einstein and Bertrand Russell in this regard.

There have—and here we meet another aspect of the problems of responsibility—ever since classical times been thinkers, philosophers and later scientists who felt that knowledge needs to be applied not only in mastering nature, but also in the conduct of human affairs, even to the extent that philosophers and scientists ought to become the leaders of the people. A rationally built, a kind of scientific society, was being envisaged. Here again we are less hopeful than some people in former periods were, but it seems to me that many of us still maintain exaggerated ideas about the ultimate power and possibilities of science in regard to its application to human relations. This applies especially to ideas regarding the possibility of an entirely scientifically planned and regulated society. The authors of such ideas in their enthusiastic simplicity easily assume that men are capable only of rational thinking and feeling. Moreover, if such a society could be attainable, we would still be left with the question which was posed by the sociologist Mannheim, himself a great advocate and rightly so of more rationality and planning, namely the question; planning for what? After all, planning is only a technique. Planning must necessarily be guided by ideas, ideals and values. In the material field, in the way of economic improvement such ideals can be clear and their can be general agreement about them. In the more subtle spheres of life, however, such agreement would be much more difficult, if not impossible. To the creation of ideals and new values far more is necessary than purely scientific thinking and knowledge. The human heart, man's feelings,

his religious emotions or his philosophical outlook, his ethical code, his experience or the tradition in which he lives or simply his common-sense play a great role in the creation of such values. For the man of action, whatever his function, knowledge alone is not sufficient, nor even skill nor experience nor cleverness; he needs ideals and principles to guide him.

When all this has been said, when these necessary reservations have been made, I must add—and this is indeed my main point—that the world is still sadly lacking in knowledge, in insight, in rationality, in understanding, especially in the field of human relations, whether in the domestic or in the international sphere. And I suggest that it certainly is the responsibility of scientists to think with the man of action, not so much by giving practical guidance to society, a task for which they are often not fitted, but by doing creative thinking about society and by incorporating ethical standards and rules in their approach to their scientific problems and research without which knowledge may lead to inhumanity and to mere power; by being aware of the social implications and consequences of science by developing what might be called, social imagination and humane-ness. There are many indications that this sense of social awareness is growing. Many scientists, engaged in physical research, for instance, have become increasingly conscious of the social implications of their inventions, of their dangerous as well as of their beneficial aspects. Many scientific workers in technical fields and many economists are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the mere introduction of technical or economic changes is not sufficient, that these changes have social consequences, very evident, for instance, in the so-called underdeveloped countries and that neglect of these social consequences leads to resistance, frustration, social disintegration and other unforeseen and undesirable results. The social scientists especially have a great task ahead of them. This does not consist only in analysing society, in merely satisfying curiosity under the misguided name of the search for truth, but in more than that, in posing and formulating the really relevant and important problems, in stimulating our social awareness by clarifying our thoughts and our feelings, in making us conscious of the interrelatedness of the social universe, of the social aspect and consequences of our actions and of our human relations. In this way, I think, science and especially social science, can be of some help to all those who bear responsibility for shaping policy or for giving guidance to society. In this way too they can perhaps help in avoiding or mitigating some of the terrible dangers inherent in the impact of sciences on society. They can everywhere help to clarify our thinking on one of the most pressing problems of life at present: the problem of how to combine the concentration of power made possible by scientific advance—

concentration of power in the hands of governments, of the military apparatus, of experts, of administration, of organizational and institutional life, how to combine all this in its inevitable march with personal freedom, with creative and spontaneous life and with human feelings. It is a problem which has been analysed by the sociologist Mannheim in his book: "Man and Society in an age of reconstruction." It is a problem which again was posed by Mr. Nehru in a recent address to the Development Council with his authority as a statesman who is deeply engaged in finding solutions not only for the every-day and long term problems with which India is faced, but also in reflective thinking on the values for which it is worthwhile striving in life both by nations and by individuals.

It is recognised more and more in responsible circles that a training and education in social knowledge and social insight forms a necessary conditions for all higher forms of social activity.

I said a few minutes ago that it would be pretentious for the man of science to think that he, by the mere fact of possessing some knowledge in a restricted field, would be able to replace the man of action who so often makes a bad job of his work. But it would be equally arrogant for the man of action to pretend that he can do without knowledge and deeper insight. Some so-called practical men seem inclined to make a virtue out of their ignorance and mental limitations, and to pride themselves on their being merely practical.

Lastly, I want to point out that science bears a great responsibility for upholding one of the greatest values a culture can possess namely the value of truth, the search for truth at any rate, the value of independent, objective, rational, honest thinking. The more science cultivates this value, even against adverse influences in society, the more it is true to its mission. The educational institutions make it their task not only to transmit already established knowledge, but to foster and further a spirit of critical as well as of constructive thinking, the more they will be able to serve society and its better values.

It is nearly a common-place to say that the world is becoming more and more one. It depends, of course, on what you understand by oneness or unity, more in particular, at what level such unity is supposed to exist. Do we have in mind the speed with which we can reach each other by aeroplane, by telephone or other means of communication? Are we thinking of the rapid spread all over the world of a certain type of material civilization, based on all kinds of mechanical tools and play things? Or are we thinking of referring to a unity of culture in a deeper sense, to a unity of human feelings and thought? And then again, the kind of unity caused by common fear or hatred is possible as well as the unity based on nobler sentiments.

However, in the short space available, I do not want to go into the details of this complicated problem. I simply want once more to suggest that in regard to this problem it is the task of science and of the social sciences in particular, mingled perhaps with a philosophical outlook, to show that the spread of culture, when reaching the deeper levels of human existence cannot be a more or less mechanical process, that every culture, though possessing common characteristics with other cultures, is at the same time something unique, with its own values. A fact of which technical experts, working in foreign countries, seem often not sufficiently aware.

The general spread of the material aspects of civilization seems to be inevitable, and provided countries are sufficiently selective, there seems no harm in that and there are certainly great and necessary advantages connected with it. On the higher levels of culture too, in knowledge, in ethical rules, in religious experience, certain forms of a universal culture, of human one-ness would seem possible. But a universal culture, even if it could be realized—and it is realized to a certain extent—is not synonymous with a uniform culture. It would be a loss to humanity if culture as a whole should become less and less differentiated. Each country, each people, the small as well as the big, is probably able to contribute its own distinctive cultural share, according to its own capacities or genius. Only in variety, it would seem, can a world culture contribute to the happiness of mankind.

It is also a problem for social and responsible sociological thinking as to how changes can be introduced without disturbing the essence of culture and without doing harm to the soul of man. How the best of a culture can be preserved in the enormous and unprecedented upheaval which we are witnessing in many parts of the world to-day constitutes a problem? India too is faced with the problems how, while partaking more and more in world culture and while necessarily making immense efforts to improve its material conditions along the lines of Western countries, she will at the same time be able to preserve her own values, based on long tradition and experience, or rather how she will be able to combine in a new synthesis of her own old and modern values, and bring the past and the present, and the present and the future together.*

* Address by the author at the Convocation of Subhas College, UNNAO, U.P., April, 1956.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE TAMANGS OF NEPAL¹

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

The Tamangs are one of the principal Tibeto-Burman speaking populations of Nepal². Distinguished from other ethnic groups by language and customs, they evince the essential characteristics of a tribe, even though they do not occupy a territory clearly set apart from the habitat of other populations. Like most ethnic groups of Nepal, they are associated with a specific altitude level rather than with a particular compact region. This preferred zone of settlement lies between 5,000 and 7,000 feet, and only isolated Tamang settlements lie below the 5,000 feet line. Traditionally Tamangs are cultivators of dry crops, including millets, wheat, barley, maize and buckwheat, and animal husbandry plays only a subsidiary role in their economy. Pressure on the land in their preferred zone seems to have driven some Tamang communities to regions above an altitude of 7,000 feet, but nowhere do Tamang compete with Sherpas for the high ground above 9,000 feet. The northernmost area of Tamang settlement seems to be the Langtang region. There are scattered Tamang villages in the hills surrounding the Nepal Valley, but the main concentration of the Tamangs is in an area enclosed by the Sun Kosi River and the Likhu Khola, and extending south of the Sun Kosi into the hills between Dhulikhel and Sindhuli Garhi. In this area we find whole groups of villages with a homogeneous Tamang population, though even here a few settlements of Brahmans, Chattris, Newars and Magars, lie interspersed between such compact blocks of Tamang habitation. The easternmost Tamang settlements of which I have definite knowledge are in the Dudh Kosi Valley, where Tamangs have infiltrated into the country of the Rai tribes.

No census figures for the number of Tamangs are as yet available. In the area covered by my ethnographic survey, which extends from the meridian of Kathmandu (85° 17') as far east as Aisyualukharka (86° 45') I counted a total of 223 Tamang settlements some of which

¹ This article is based on data gathered in the course of a preliminary ethnographic survey of parts of Eastern Nepal which the author undertook in 1953 on behalf of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The project was aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

² In W. Brook Northey's and C. J. Morris' book *The Gurkhas* (London 1928) the Tamangs are referred to as 'Murmi'. I have not come across this term in Nepal, but as L. Adam in 'Sitte und Recht in Nepal' (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol. XLIX, 1934, P. 182) describes one of his informants from Darjeeling District as Murmi-Lama, and the relationship terms given by this informant are practically identical with those recorded by me among Tamangs, we can conclude that the name Murmi is current among those members of the tribe who have settled in the region of Darjeeling.

are large villages with over a hundred houses while others are small hamlets with as little as a dozen houses. If we take fifty as the average number of houses in a village and five as the average number of persons in a household, this gives a figure of 55,750 Tamangs for the area under review. Neither the Tamangs west of Kathmandu nor those to the north in the Langtang area, which I did not visit, are included in this rough calculation.

To their Gurkhali and Newari speaking neighbours all Tamangs, whether learned in Buddhist ritual or not, are known as 'Lama', a term sometimes applied also to Sherpas. Like the Sherpas the Tamangs are basically of mongoloid racial stock, and their own traditions point to an immigration from a region situated to the north of their present habitat. But whatever their traditions regarding the distant past may be, there can be no doubt that for many centuries the Tamangs must have been living in Central and Eastern Nepal, and this is borne out by the proprietary rights claimed by individual Tamang clans in respect of particular tracts of country.

The Tamang tribe is vertically divided into a number of patrilineal, exogamous clans (*rui*), which bear such names as Hyundzan, Ghyawa, Ghising, Shiangtung, Muktan and Ghole. The members of each clan claim descent from a common ancestor, and several clans are grouped together as 'brother-clans' on the grounds that their ancestors were brothers. Such 'brother-clans' constitute large exogamous units, whose members are debarred from intermarriage. I have not been able to discover any traces of a genealogy reaching into legendary times which would systematize such beliefs in kinship relations between individual clans, in the same way perhaps as a system of genealogical relationships culminating in the mythical tribal ancestor embraces all the clans of the Daflas and Miris in the Assam Himalayas¹.

The Tamangs have nevertheless a firm belief in the common origin of their race. A horizontal division into Bara Tamangs and Atharajat Tamangs is probably of comparatively recent date. The former are believed to be of undiluted Tamang stock, whereas those known as Atharajat (literally 'eighteen clans') Tamangs are the descendants of Tamangs and Newar, Gurung and Magar wives. Their clan-names are the same as those of the Bara Tamangs, but the latter consider themselves superior to the off-spring of mixed marriages, and do not normally intermarry with Tamangs of Atharajat class. Marriages with Sherpa women, on the other hand, though not frequent, have no adverse effect on a Tamang lineage. As Tamangs profess the same type of lamaistic Buddhism as the Sherpas, and the Sherpa lamas of the monastery of Bikhu are recognized as spiritual authorities,

¹ Cf. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region, Shillong* (Assam Government Press), 1947, pp. 1-2.

it is perhaps not surprising that the Tamangs have no objection to intermarriage with a people linked to them by so many spiritual ties.

The Tamangs of the Risingo area believe that at the time of their immigration the country was inhabited by Poris, whom their ancestors ousted "just as the Gurkhas ousted the Newar Rajas". Now only a few small groups of Poris are surviving as distinct ethnic and linguistic units, but tradition has it that some of the stone platforms (*Shipdathan*) on which the Tamangs sacrifice to the earth-deities were built by the Poris, the original inhabitants of the country.

In all those areas where Tamangs constitute the main population each patri-clan has a traditional right to a certain tract of land, which is known as the clan's *kipat*.¹

Within his own *kipat*, a Tamang has the right to build a house on any vacant site without asking anyone's permission, and to reclaim unoccupied land without purchasing it. If he wants to build a house in the *kipat* of another clan, he must obtain the consent of the village-headman, and land outside one's own *kipat* can only be obtained by purchase, but never by the reclamation of uncultivated land.

Most Tamang *kipat* do not consist of continuous territories, but villages belonging to different *kipat* dovetail and form enclaves. There are even villages in which several clans have *kipat* rights. Today there exists no formal organization to guard such rights. The clans lack a common head who might exert authority over matters affecting *kipat*-interests, and it is left to the headmen (*mulmi*) of the individual villages to see that the *kipat*-rights are not infringed.

Whether Tamang clans were ever strictly localized and whether there was a time when all members of a clan lived only in their own *kipat* territory, is an open question. Today the clans are interspersed and the population of almost every village, and hence also of every *kipat*, consists of members of different clans. In the village of Tamjet, which belongs to the Ghising *kipat*, for instance, there are three clans (Ghising, Ghole and Hyungdzan) and the thirty-seven houses of the settlement are distributed over nine hamlets (*tol*) scattered at small intervals along the banks of a stream and over the nearby hill-slopes. Four generations ago the village was founded by a man of Ghising clan, who began clearing the forest in a valley which previously was used only as a hunting ground. Today practically the entire population of the village consists of his descendants. Two of his sons-in-law came and settled in Tamjet, and it is from them that the people of Ghole and Hyungdzan clan are descended.

¹ The system of *kipat* rights is not peculiar to the Tamangs, but other populations of Nepal, notably the Rais, have similar territorial rights.

The social compactness and self-sufficiency of the smaller Tamang villages is closely linked up with the custom of cross-cousin marriage, which is the preferred marriage type. This custom is in striking contrast to the marriage rules of most other populations of Nepal, including Newars, Sherpas and Rais, all of whom prohibit the marriage of both parallel and cross-cousins. Strangely enough the Tamang relationship terms do not give any indication of the differentiation between parallel cousins, who according to the rules of clan-exogamy cannot marry, and cross-cousins, who are potential marriage partners. Thus a man calls his sisters, his father's brother's daughters and also his mother's brother's daughters *nana* if they are older than he is, and *bhuring* if they are younger. Should one of his brothers marry his mother's brother's daughter he would thereafter call her *tsang*, for *tsang* (brother's wife) overrules the term *bhuring*. It goes without saying that once a man is married to his mother's brother's or father's sister's daughter he refers to her as *mering* (wife) and no longer as *bhuring* (younger sister). The Sherpas too address both the father's brother's and the mother's brother's daughters by the same term, but this is consistent with kinship behaviour as in Sherpa society both parallel and cross-cousins are excluded from the ranks of potential mates. The Tamangs do not permit marriage with the mother's sister's daughter even if it does not conflict with the rules of clan-exogamy, and there is also a ban on marrying the widow of a younger brother.

Thus the kinship terminology of the Tamang seems to reflect behaviour patterns only to a very limited extent. No difference is made between consanguinous kin and affines. A woman uses the same term (*dzedzo*) for her own elder brother, her father's brother's son, her mother's brother's son and her husband's elder brother. Similarly there is no difference in the term for patrilineal and matrilineal grandparents, the term *akhe* being used for father's father as well as mother's father. It will be seen, however, that a distinction is made between father's elder brother (*abtheba*) and mother's brother (*ashang*). A difference in the sex of the speaker affects only one category of kinship terms, namely the terms for the members of the descending generation in a collateral line, i.e., a man refers to his brother's son as *dhza* and his sister's son as *kon*, whereas a woman uses the terms in reverse, and refers to her brother's son as *kon* and her sister's son as *dhza*.

TABLE OF TAMANG KINSHIP TERMS

Father's father	akhe
Father's mother	mām
Mother's father	akhe
Mother's mother	mām
Father	ava

TABLE OF TAMANG KINSHIP TERMS (*contd.*)

Mother	ama
Father's elder brother	abtheba
Father's younger brother	agu
Mother's brother (e. & y)	chuan
Father's sister (e. & y.)	ashàng
Mother's elder sister	ani
Mother's younger sister	amtheba
Elder brother	ani
Younger brother	dzedzo
Elder sister	chuan
Younger sister	nāna
Father's brother's son (older than speaker)	bhuring
Father's brother's son (younger than speaker)	dzedzo
Father's brother's daughter (older than speaker)	chuan
Father's brother's daughter (younger than speaker)	nāna
Father's sister's son (older than speaker)	bhuring
Father's sister's son (younger than speaker)	dzedzo
Father's sister's daughter (older than speaker)	chuan
Father's sister's daughter (younger than speaker)	nāna
Mother's brother's son (older than speaker)	bhuring
Mother's brother's son (younger than speaker)	dzedzo
Mother's brother's daughter (older than speaker)	chuan
Mother's brother's daughter (younger than speaker)	nāna
Mother's sister's son (older than speaker)	bhuring
Mother's sister's son (younger than speaker)	dzedzo
Mother's sister's daughter (older than speaker)	chuan
Mother's sister's daughter (younger than speaker)	nāna
Son	bhuring
Daughter	dzha
Brother's son (man speaking)	dzhame
Brother's son (woman speaking)	dzha
Sister's son (man speaking)	kon
Sister's son (woman speaking)	kon
Brother's daughter (man speaking)	dzha
Brother's daughter (woman speaking)	dzhame
Sister's daughter (man speaking)	konme
Sister's daughter (woman speaking)	konme
Son's son	dzhame
Son's daughter	chhaya
Daughter's son	chhaya
Daughter's daughter	chhaya
Husband	chhaya
Wife	rema
Husband's or wife's father	mering
Husband's or wife's mother	ken
Husband's or wife's elder brother	shumi
Husband's or wife's younger brother	dzedzo
Husband's or wife's elder sister	chuan
Husband's or wife's younger sister	nāna
Brother's wife (man or woman speaking)	bhuring
Sister's husband (man or woman speaking)	tsang
Father's elder brother's wife	mha
Father's younger brother's wife	amtheba
Father's sister's husband	aru
Mother's brother's wife	ashang
Mother's sister's husband	ani
Son's wife	agu
Daughter's husband	tsang
	mha

For relatives by marriage and potential mates Tamangs use the collective term *samdi*, while they describe as *swame* all those who belong to a person's own exogamous unit, *i.e.*, members of his or her clan and of so-called 'brother clans'. *Samdi* is a Nepali word and there seems to be no corresponding word in the Tamang language.

The use of the same term (*tsang*) for a brother's wife and a daughter-in-law does not appear fully consistent with kinship behaviour. For the elder brother's wife is a potential mate, because a man can marry his elder brother's widow, whereas a son's wife is excluded from any sexual relationship. In Tibetan polyandrous marriages not only brothers but also fathers and sons can be co-husbands and in such a system an equation of brother's wife and son's wife would be less difficult to explain. In view of the Tamangs' tradition of an original homeland in or near Tibet the use of the term *tsang* could perhaps be interpreted as a survival from a time when polyandrous marriages of the Tibetan type were customary, but at present there is no other evidence for the one-time existence of polyandrous marriage among Tamangs.

According to the methods of entering a marital union, the Tamangs distinguish today between three types of marriages, known respectively as *solsing*, *balsing* and *milsing*.

a) *Solsing* is a marriage brought about by formal negotiations between the parents of bride and bridegroom and preceded by a betrothal ceremony or *sodene*. Unlike the *sodene* of the Sherpas, this betrothal does not entitle the young man to spend the nights with his fiancée in her parents' house. The wedding rite is performed in the groom's house and is called *rem*.

b) *Balsing* is a kind of marriage by capture. A young man, accompanied by several friends stalks a girl of his choice and captures her from a fair, from the fields or from the forest. If she is willing to become his wife the wedding is celebrated with full rites and her relatives are invited. But if she refuses, she is allowed to go. To avoid delay and cut short possible objections from within the family circle a man may resort to *balsing* even to secure the daughter of his mother's brother.

c) *Milsing* is a marriage agreed upon by the boy and the girl without their elders' knowledge. When they have made up their minds, the young man approaches his own father with the request to obtain the consent of the girl's parents.

Tamangs do not pay a bride-price, but the girl is given a dowry consisting of clothes, jewels, household goods and sometimes cattle. The dowry is not returned if a wife dies or leaves her husband on her own accord; but if the husband divorces her, the dowry can be claimed by her natal family. In the Tamang language there is no expression for the son-in-law who enters the father-in-law's house

and they now use the Nepali term *ghar-juwain* to designate a husband who married on the understanding that he would join the father-in-laws's household and live there at least for the first years of marriage. While normally the daughters do not inherit, the dowry being considered their share of the parental property, such a *ghar-juwain* may inherit the property of his father-in-law, provided the latter has no son and his brother's sons, who would otherwise be the heirs, do not object.

Tamang marriages do not seem to be very stable and in the genealogies which I recorded there were many cases of wives who had left their husbands. The present rate of compensation which a man has to pay for abducting another man's wife is sixty rupees, and in case of a detected adultery the aggrieved husband is entitled to this compensation even if his wife's lover has no intention of marrying her.

The tolerant attitude towards sexual relations not sanctioned by marriage extends also to the love-affairs of unmarried girls. A premarital pregnancy does not prejudice a girl's prospects of a respectable marriage. Her lover is given the choice of marrying her, but if he refuses to do so, he must take the child as soon as it is weaned, and the girl may marry any other man.

A serious view is taken only if lovers belong to the same clan. If their connection becomes known they are banished from their village and no other Tamang village will grant them refuge. Their offence cannot be redeemed by the payment of a fine and the promise of future good behaviour, and there is for such couples no other way than to cut themselves away from the Tamang community and to settle among people of another ethnic group.

There is no prejudice against the remarriage of widows, nor it is necessary for an unmarried man to go first through a marriage ceremony with an unmarried girl, before he can marry a divorcee or widow. The Tamangs know of the polyandrous marriages of Tibetans and Sherpas, but my informants were emphatic in the assertion that polyandry did not occur among Tamangs. Polygyny, though not frequent, is permitted, but only rich men have more than one wife at a time.

In every Tamang village there is a secular headman (*mulmi*) whose office is held in rotation by the householders of the clan having *kipat* rights in the villages. The period of office is usually two years and at the time of the Bhumi *puja*, the rite in honour of Mother Earth in the month of Jeth (May-June), a new *mulmi* is appointed by the villagers who have gathered for the rite. Their choice is usually a foregone conclusion, because the sequence in which the office passes from household to household is laid down and now-a-days often even recorded in writing. But the villagers are at liberty to exclude an unsuitable man from the office of *mulmi*.

The *mulmi* is entitled to one day's free labour from one member of each house in the village, and where there are Newar or Magar families in the village even they have to furnish one labourer for a day's work in the headman's fields. The main function of the *mulmi* is the collection of the land revenue, which he takes himself to the nearest district town and there pays into the government treasury. He also exercises control over the village-forest, and his consent has to be sought by anyone who intends to fell trees. If there is a dispute in the village, the *mulmi* will try to bring about a settlement, but if no compromise is possible he may refer it to the government authorities.

In very large villages, such as e.g., Risingo, there are several *mulmi*, each fulfilling these functions in relation to one or several *tol*. In Risingo, for instance, which consists of twenty-four *tol* or *kor* there are nine *mulmi* all of whom are Tamangs, although among the inhabitants of the village there are several Brahmans and Newars.

Beside the *mulmi*, who represents the community towards the outside world, there is in every Tamang village a *dhami* or priest, whose duty it is to perform the seasonal agricultural rites and propitiate deities and spirits with offerings and animal sacrifices. Normally he belongs to the clan of the village-founder and some Tamangs described him to me as a clan-priest and head of the clan-members living in the locality. In this capacity he conducts the worship of the Departed, and if he so wishes he can decree that a certain rite in honour of the ancestors, known as *ngo-ngo-lapa* should not—as it often happens—be performed separately by each individual household, but that all clan-members living in the locality should hold the rite jointly.

On that occasion he makes four great 'towers' of cooked rice and gives them as offerings to the Departed. After the rite is completed they are broken up and distributed among the clan-members.¹

Another important function of the *dhami* is the sacrificial rite known as *Shipda puja* (or *Bhumi puja* in Nepali), which is performed on the *Shipda than*, an elevated site outside the village marked by one or two stone-platforms. Here he sacrifices cocks provided by the villagers and presents food-offerings to Shipda Raja and Shipda Rani. The Tamang word *Shipda* is rendered by the Nepali *Bhumi* and it seems that Shipda Raja and Shipda Rani are the earth-deities, who have to be propitiated before sowing.

Apart from the main *Shipda than* there is usually a smaller sacrificial place, also known as *Devi than*. In some villages on every full

¹ These towers of rice were described to me as 'higher than a man'. They remind one of the *torma*, figures of deities, spirits and terrestrial beings, which on the occasion of all important rites the Sherpas made of flour or boiled rice and butter.

moon day and in others at least every three months the *dhami* sacrifices a cock at the smaller *Shipda than*. Before the harvest in the month of *Kartik* (October-November) he acts as priest at a sacrificial rite on the *Devi than* when not only cocks, but also sheep and goats are sacrificed. The head of every animal sacrificed is the perquisite of the *dhami* and in addition he receives an annual contribution of two measures (4 lbs.) of grains from every household.

Apart from the sacrificial rites performed by all the inhabitants of a village, there are also acts of worship performed by the members of individual clans in honour of the clan-ancestors. Such a rite is called *la suba* and according to the individual tradition of the clan a goat, sheep or cock is sacrificed, or even only incense and vegetarian food are offered. It is performed in the house of the oldest clan-member of the locality, but all clan-members resident in the village contribute food and drink. The *dhami* of the village can act as priest even if he is not of the same clan. If in a multi-clan village there are several *tol*, each inhabited by members of one clan, there may be a *dhami* in each of these clans.

Most Tamang *dhami* act also as seers and spirit callers, and are able to bring about a state of trance when the gods can speak through their mouth.

The position of the Tamang *dhami* and the cult of the local deities propitiated with animal sacrifices is interesting in view of the Tamangs' overt allegiance to Buddhism, and the role played by Tamang lamas in another sphere of religious life. While among other Buddhist populations, such as the Sherpas, the cult of local deities and Buddhist practices have at least outwardly been harmonized, and lamas officiate at the rites in honour of gods of undoubtedly non-Buddhist origin,¹ there is among the Tamangs an open discrepancy between Buddhist faith and practice on the one side, and the cult of the gods on the other.

In many, though by no means all, Tamang villages there are Buddhist temples (*ghyang*) similar to the *gompa* of Tibetans and Sherpas, and lamas learned in the Tibetan sacred scriptures practise ritual which is basically the same as that performed by Tibetan and Sherpa lamas.

As Buddhist lamas are not allowed to kill, and hence they cannot take an active part in any ritual involving animal sacrifices. At the seasonal rites at the *Shipda than* members of lama families bring vegetarian offerings instead of animals, but lamas do not function in their capacity of priests. Conscious of their literacy and learning in Buddhist lore they have the tendency to look down upon the *dhami* and I have heard lamas refer to the traditional village—

¹ Cf. my article 'Pre-Buddhist Elements in Sherpa Ritual and Belief', *Man*, 1955, Vol. LV, No. 61.

and clan-priests as 'the one who weilds the knife', implying that he did no more than kill the animals.

A *dhami* is normally succeeded by his son, but should the son acquire the training of a lama, he could not fulfil the function of sacrificial priest and another member of the *dhami* family has to succeed. In Risingo, which is one of the main Buddhist centres with two *ghyang* and a number of affluent and learned lamas, the *dhami* gives the impression of being completely overshadowed. Living in one of the humblest houses and being obviously rather badly off, he presents a striking contrast to the priests of Buddhism, the religion which is steadily gaining ground.

Besides ministering at all ritual in the *ghyang*, lamas act at funerals and the subsequent mourning rites, and they are called to drive out evil spirits. At weddings they have no function, whereas the *dhami* sprinkles water in order to avert all misfortune, and particularly disasters caused by bad weather.

While the two types of ritual experts stand in a certain opposition, and their functions are mutually exclusive, the ordinary Tamang villagers are hardly conscious of the contradictions between the cult of the old tribal gods and the rites and practices of lamaistic Buddhism. They worship in turn at the open air sanctuaries of *Sipda than* and *Devi than*, and in the painted hall of the *ghyang*, propitiate the tribal gods by the sacrifice and sometimes the preceding dedication of animals, and employ lamas to recite sacred texts.

There is however one type of ritual, known as *Phola Lasuba*, which expresses an old concept in a new form. This is a kind of feast of merit in honour of a clan-god, which is extremely expensive and hence rarely undertaken. While in its original form it involves animal sacrifices performed by a *dhami* and the lavish feasting of many guests for nine or ten days, lamas of affluence and eager to attain worldly prestige have begun to celebrate it in a modified form. Animal sacrifices and the cooperation of a *dhami* are, of course, excluded, but there remains the lavish feasting of many guests. A special feature of this feast is the moulding of enormous figures of cooked rice, some as big as a sitting man. These may be a development of the *torma* characteristic of lamaistic ritual, or the large rice-figures may be substitutes for the animals sacrificed on the occasion of such feasts of merit by those Tamangs who are not lamas. A *Phola Lasuba* need not necessarily be given by one individual donor; there are occasions when all the members of a clan resident in a village contribute to the expense of the feast.

Another way of gaining prestige is the erection of stone structures in memory of deceased kinsmen. The most common type are the so-called *mani*-walls, low stone walls, usually combined with resting platforms, which contain carved stone-tablets (*hiki*) bearing inscrip-

tions of sacred formulae in Tibetan script. On completion of such a *mani*-wall a feast is given to all the villagers, and the expense to the man honouring a deceased father or brother in this manner may be considerable. The deceased, in whose name it is put up, is believed to gain merit (*dharma*) which will profit him or her in the next world.

Even more expensive than the building of *mani*-walls is the construction of *chorten*, a development of the Buddhist *stupa*. The Tamangs build two types of *chorten*: one is known as *chamchup chorten*, and consists of a stepped pyramid as base, a spherical middle part and a spike-shaped top; another, called *namgial chorten*, is distinguished by a cube-shaped centre part intervening between stepped base and spherical upper part. Either part may be erected in honour of lamas as well as of other Tamangs. Unlike the Sherpas, the Tamangs do not enclose bone relics within the structure of their *chorten*, but sheets of paper with the imprints of the iconographic representation of deities may be built into the masonry. When a *chorten* is inaugurated, all the villagers as well as guests from neighbouring settlements are invited and feasted.

Many Tamang lamas have visited Tibet and pursued studies in Tibetan monasteries, but there are no Tamang monasteries comparable to those of Tibet or even the Sherpa country. A small number of Tamang lamas, however, lead a celibate life in simple monastic establishments, and there exist even a few Tamang nuns. There seem to be no monastery schools, however, their place is taken by another institution serving the purpose of training the young in the reading of scriptures and the performance of religious ritual. In temporary huts situated in isolated places remote from other human habitation, learned lamas hold regular courses of instruction which last for several weeks or months. The boys and young men who attend are instructed in reading and writing, meditation, the counting of rosary beads and the prayers appropriate to the different gods of the Buddhist pantheon. Such retreats are called *tsamre damdzawa*, and every one who aspires to lamahood should attend at least four periods of retreat and instruction. The first period lasts for one month, the second for two months, and so on. Food, fire-wood and other supplies are provided by the parents of the students; the latter may not enter a village even for a visit as long as their course of instruction lasts.

Most Tamang lamas are farmers as well as scholars and priests, but there are some who have specialized as painters, and spend the greater part of their time on the painting of *tango* (*thangka*) and the decoration of *ghyang*. The paintings which are mounted on rolls of silk, are in the conventional Tibetan style, and the work of some Tamang painters need not shun comparison with that of the average Tibetan religious painter.

Tamang lamas have the tendency to marry the daughters of lamas, and it is usual for a lama either to teach his sons himself or to arrange for their instruction by another lama. In this way a class of lamas has grown up, and though neither strictly endogamous nor formally privileged, this class now forms an upper stratum distinct from the ordinary cultivators. Lama families are concentrated mainly in such larger villages as Risingo and Doramba; in most of the smaller Tamang settlements there are no lamas, and no *ghyang* or places of Buddhist worship.

There seems to be also a correlation between the relative prosperity of a Tamang village-community and the percentage of men trained as lamas. In the areas of compact Tamang population, where Tamangs enjoy *kipat*-rights and own the land they cultivate, the number of men trained as lamas is comparatively large. But where the Tamangs are a minority and cultivate marginal land or land owned by landlords of different ethnic stock, they lack the economic basis for the support of the cultural activities of lamas.

It is particularly in the hills surrounding the Nepal Valley, that the Tamangs have sunk to the position of tenant-farmers, daily labourers and carriers. Unable to support themselves on the produce of the marginal lands alone left to them, they furnish the greater part of the porter-force required for the movement of trade-goods along the mountainous paths permitting of no other means of transport. Commensurable with their low economic status is in this area their social status in a caste-hierarchy dominated by Gurkali-speaking Brahmans and Chetris, who immigrated into Nepal from India within the last five hundred years. Even Buddhist Newars do not grant them any privileges as co-religionists, and the tolerance shown by Newars and Chetris to inter-caste marriages does not, on the whole, extend as far as unions between members of these communities and Tamangs. Like Sherpas, Gurungs and Magars, the Tamangs stand on the fringe of the inter-ethnic society of the Nepal Valley.

Whereas Newars settled in Tibet freely intermarry with Tibetans and the off-spring of such unions, known as *Urhä*, have a recognized place in the society of the Buddhist Newars, the Tamangs, though adherents of the same Buddhist faith as the Tibetans, are rigidly excluded from intermarriage with Newars. In these areas of mixed populations the Tamangs are gradually assuming the character of a caste of low economic and ritual status, and it is only in the regions where they form the majority of the population that they meet the members of other ethnic groups on equal terms and even retain the political leadership on village-level. It is also in the areas of more or less compact Tamang settlement that lamaistic Buddhism is the dominant force in shaping the tribe's cultural life.

RITES AND CUSTOMS ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

PART II

N. S. REDDY

Setting the Stage for Vivah :

Leaving some space in the centre of the *madow* to the west of the main pole, carpets are spread on all the three flanks excepting the western side, where the bride and the groom are to be seated. On the southern carpet, the priest of the bride's family sits with a platter before him, which contains items of sanctity like *akshat* (turmeric-coated rice), turmeric paste, curd, jaggery, *dub* etc. On the carpet to the north sits the priest of the groom's family along with a few elders of the *barath* party. There are a number of leaf-cups and leaf-plates in the centre, kept ready by the Nai for use in subsequent ceremonies. A wick lamp in an earthen saucer is set up over the *kalsa*. The pandit of the bride's family, who is the chief priest for the occasion, passes a leaf-cup with a little rice and three *kush* rings to his counterpart sitting on the opposite carpet. An elderly person of the *barath* party aided by the pandit produces the articles they have brought, one after the other. An item of jewellery is first handed over to the chief priest who, after touching the *kalsa* with it, deposits it on a leaf plate. Some more jewels, a few *sarees*, and a vermilion vase are received in one lump and placed on another leaf-plate. The Nain of the bride's village hands them over to the womenfolk inside the house. The chief priest gets from the groom's party a small fee at this juncture. It is described as *shanti-pith-dakshina*, meaning fees for the establishment of the seat of peace and auspice. The Nain at the same time receives a few annas as her fee. She usually demands a *saree* but only gets an assurance that she will get the present later on. Then the other articles brought by the *barath*—rice, five balls of jaggery and five fruits (usually mangoes)—are placed on a third leaf-plate.

Thakpat :

Before the bride and the bridegroom are brought together in the *madow* for the final rites of wedding, each of them undergoes a separate ceremony. First, there is the ceremony of *thakpat* which has the import of defining the relations of the groom's elder brother with the bride. The bride is led to the *madow* by the Nain. She is not only veiled by the upper end of the *saree*, but a sheet covers her from head to toe. The Nain carefully holds the *mauri* over the bride's head.

After she is made to sit over a leaf-plate about a yard to the west of the chief *madow* pole facing east, the priest hands over a *kush* ring to the Nain, who fixes it on the ring finger of the bride's right hand. A cow-dung image is installed in a leaf cup near the *kalsa*. Close by there is a burning dung cake. The priest recites *mantras*, placing a little rice and turmeric on the idol and a small amount of *ghce* over the fire. He receives a small fee (usually one to four annas) at this time and calls in the groom's elder brother. The *aachaman* is performed by handing him a *kush* ring to be worn on the right-hand finger and pouring a little water into his hand thrice to be sipped and the fourth time to be dropped on the ground. The leaf-plate containing rice, five balls of jaggery, and five fruits brought by the *barath* party is drawn right in front of the bride. The groom's elder brother puts these articles into the hands of the bride in five stages, placing a little rice, a ball of jaggery and a fruit each time. After he places them all, the bride is made to drop them on the floor. Then he places a coin of one rupee in her hands and, as she holds it, he sprinkles rice over her head and places the mixed skein of red yarn and tinsel wire around her neck. This coin is taken by the pandit as his fee for conducting this particular rite, and the Nain also receives a small fee from the groom's brother before the latter steps aside.

The significance of this ceremony is generally believed to be that the elder brother of the groom, who has general control over the family next to the father, solemnly avows to observe avoidance and not to have anything to do with the young bride who is going to enter his household to remain under his care. Tradition dictates that he should not even touch her clothes, nor should he use the cot which is allotted to her. As some pandits explain, *thakpat* is a corruption of *tyagapatra*, meaning worthy of renunciation or abstinence. When one has no elder brother of his own, an elder parallel cousin of the same family fills the place. When no such suitable kin is available within the family, a cousin from a different household is called upon to perform the ceremony. In the Lohar's marriage, though there were elder cousins within the family, a neighbour's son was chosen to perform this rite. These two families were not united by any close ties of kinship. One old lady explained that the reason for this choice of a neighbour's son was the very stringent injunction imposed by custom on the executant of this ceremony who, if he is a member of the same household, may find it difficult to observe such conditions as not touching the cot and clothes of that particular sister-in-law of his.

Tilak :

The bride leaves the *madow* and the groom is brought in with fanfare. The ensuing ceremony requires the bride's father to offer

obeisance to the groom by washing his feet and marking the sacred *tilak* on his forehead with turmeric, curd and rice. For the Ahirs and Lohars, among whom usually no separate *tilak* ceremony is celebrated prior to the marriage, it is an occasion for the bride's father to make a cash present to the groom. Even among the Thakurs, who celebrate the *tilak* function at the groom's place earlier, all the following rites are performed as a preliminary to the *vivah*. Only the item of cash payment is omitted on this occasion as it would have been already made at the earlier function.

As the groom steps into the *madow* and stands at the place marked for his seat, the Nai lights four wicks in the trough which is formed in a lump of dough and which is filled with *ghee*. He hands it over to the standing groom. The latter raises it once and passes it on to the bride's father, who receives it standing face to face with him. The latter in turn raises it a little and then deposits it by the side of the *kalsa*. The Nai brings forth the *pirha*, a wooden plank, about 2 feet long, one foot wide and of a height of about 4 inches from the floor. Over it, a handfull of rice is spread at the sides and in the centre. A few coins are kept upon it. This is the groom's seat. The groom and the bride's father hold it between them, assisted by the pandit and the Nai at the two sides. They move it five times towards the *kalsa* to touch it, whereupon it is kept in its place. The bride's father holds the hand of the groom and invites him to take his seat. He himself sits opposite to him over a leaf-plate by the side of the chief pole of the *madow*.

The priest gives them rings of *kush* grass to be worn on the right-hand fingers. Then *aachaman* is administered. Small leaf cups containing rice are given to them which they keep in their left hands and cover them with the right while the priest recites *mantras*. They sprinkle the rice five times over the consecrated spot between them. The pandit gives *dub* grass to the bride's father. He transfers it to the groom, who keeps it under his feet. The former passes on a leaf cup of water. The groom dips his right hand into it and sprinkles a few drops over his right foot. He again dips his left hand in it and sprinkles drops of water over his left foot. The bride's father moves closer to the groom, dips his hands in a leaf-cup of water held by the Nai and rubs the two feet of the latter five times. (He removes the *kush* ring for the time being as the sacred object should not touch the feet of any person).

Turmeric and curd are mixed in a platter. As the priest recites hymns, relating to the import of *tilak*, the father-in-law dips his right thumb into this paste and first smears it over a dung morsel on the *kalsa* pot. Then he smears a mark five times over the forehead of the groom, and upon it applies rice. Marking of *tilak* constitutes the chief feature of this ceremony, and the women sitting a little

apart begin to sing about the same. On this, the father-in-law passes on a platter containing a little rice, *dub*, turmeric and a fixed amount of cash. This is the *tilak* money. In the Ahir's wedding the groom received only one rupee at the *tilak* ceremony, as both the parties were poor. At the Lohar's marriage the bride's father took back the sum of Rs. 10/- offered by him on the occasion of *baraichha*, added 21 rupees and offered the total sum of Rs. 31 as *tilak* present. As the groom holds the platter the father-in-law throws *akshat* rice on him from both the hands held together with crossed fists.

Again *aachaman* is administered to the groom, whereupon the bride's father passes a platter in which curd and sugar (or jaggery) are mixed. The groom dips the ring finger of his right hand in it and, joining it with the thumb, sprinkles the juicy paste over the floor three times. Dipping his ring finger again and again, he licks it five times. This rite is called *madhu-parkam*, which means administering of honey.

Two leaf-cups with a coin of four annas in each are supplied to the groom, one from the bride's side and another from his own. He holds them and draws his arms close to his chest, his right fist touching his left shoulder and the left fist touching the right shoulder. As the priest recites the *mantras* praying to gods to ensure the safety of his limbs, the groom moves his hands from the shoulders to the nose, eyes and ears. After this, the two cups are received by the Brahmans on either side of the groom who take the coins in them as their fees.

As the last item in this ceremony, the bride's father holds a few splinters erect in his grip. Above his fist the groom also lays his grip still leaving part of the splinters projecting upward into the air. The priest recites *mantras* and breaks the splinters above the groom's grip. At the end of this ceremony, the bride's side pays the groom's Nai a fee of four annas.

Panigrahan & Kanyadan:

The ceremonies pass into the final phase when the bride is called in. The groom is given a *dhoti* by the bride's people. He turns west (away from the assembly) and dons the *dhoti* assisted by the Nai. The women break into a chorus about this event. The bride is led by the Nain and seated on a leaf-plate opposite to the groom. If she is very young, her father holds her in his lap, and if she is a grown-up girl, she sits close to her father. As soon as she takes her seat, she and the groom exchange betels. The Nai supplies a *pan* to the groom. From underneath the *chaddar* (cover) the bride opens her plam over which the Nain places a *pan*. The groom puts his into

the bride's hand and takes the one held by her. They chew the exchanged *pans*, the bride being assisted by the Nain in reaching it inside the veil to her lips.

Then comes the ceremony of *kanyadan* (offering of daughter). The parents of the bride are supposed to be discharging a sacred obligation when they offer their daughter to a suitable boy. They prepare themselves for this task, fasting for the whole day. (Only after this ceremony can they sip water, or eat any food). The priest administers *aachaman* to the groom and to the bride's father after reciting *sankalpa* over a tumbler of water. Some water in the tumbler is also sent to the bride's mother for her *aachaman*. The Thakurs elaborate the ceremony by observing a custom of joining the clothes of the bride's mother and those of her father in a knot. A number of sheets are joined to one another to form a long stretch whereby the end of the father's upper cloth is joined to the *aanchal* of the mother who sits, as per custom, inside the house. Among the lower castes, this practice is not observed.

The groom then touches the fingers of the bride's right hand with his own. A platter is kept beneath while they thus hold their palms close to each other's. The priest puts water, *dub*, and rice in their hands. They spill them in the platter. For a second time this is done. Then the bride's father holds the hands of the couple in his own. In the tiers of the palms held together the bride's father's stands at the bottom; above it the groom's and at the top, the bride's. A *dhundhi* is placed in her hand and a *dub* grass is stuck in it. The bride's brother is called upon to pour water in a continuous stream over the *dhundhi* on the hands held together until the recital of *mantras* by the pandit ceases. The priest on this occasion invokes the ancestral spirits in particular and mentions the names of the bride's father, grand-father and even the great-grand-father in an attempt to associate them with the *kanyadan*. This rite is also known as *panigrahan* or taking the bride by the hand. The groom draws his hand back for a moment, and again touches the bride's fingers. The bride's father takes out a few rupees and puts them in the hands of the groom. Thereupon he offers fee to the priest and the Nai. As soon as this rite is performed the lid over the centre of the *chul* is lifted. It denotes that the task for which the ancestral spirits are summoned is over. At the groom's place also, the women-folk who stay behind, figure out the approximate time of this ceremony and open the lid of the *chul* in their *madaw*.

The bride is made to cross the floor from her father to the groom and is seated to the right of the latter. The bride's father throws the *akshat* rice over the couple from his crossed fists as a mark of blessing. The groom offers respects and presents to the chief priest. Among the Thakurs the groom also marks *tilak* with curd, turmeric

and rice over the priest's forehead. The pandit and the Nai of the groom's family, too, receive money at this time.

Hom :

After the *kanyadan*, a *hom* is performed with *ghee* brought by the groom's people. While the priest of the bride's village recites the pertinent hymns, some one on the groom's side feeds the sacred fire with the *ghee*. Generally, it is done by the Brahman of the groom's village, but it can be done by any other person.

The *ghee* is brought by the groom's party in two small earthen mugs. It is laddled out with the aid of a mango leaf folded and stitched up with a splinter at one end to give it the shape of a spoon.

Lava-Parichhan :

Then commences the ceremony of *Lava-Parichhan*. The parched rice brought by the two parties are mixed together in a blanket held by the bride's brother. The bride and the groom get up. The bride is moved to the foreshore of the groom and is made to stand with her back closely touching the latter. The bride's brother picks up the conical measure, *mauni*, while the Nai gives the bride the other two parts of the wicker set brought by the groom's party, *i.e.*, the circular and spherical pieces called *dal*. The bride holds them with both her hands under her abdomen. The groom passes his hands over the bride's shoulders and holds the *dal* along with her. The *lodha*, the small grinder stone, is kept in front of the bride's feet. The Nai takes the small upper cloth of the groom and waves it in a circle from over the couple around the central *madow* pole. As he completes one round, the bride's brother waves the lava-filled *mauni* about the heads of the couple and empties it over the *dal* held by them. With the second movement of the cloth by the Nai, *lava* also is waved and poured down by the bride's brother once more. After repeating this process five times, the bride's brother empties all the *lava*. As the *lava* glides down the *dal*, it completely covers the *lodha* on the ground. The Nai clears up the *lodha* and places a little *lava* over it at seven points. The groom's side supplies a few annas to be placed over it. The groom leaves the *dal* and, placing his left hand on the bride's shoulder, bends down to touch the *lodha* with his right hand. Thereupon, the Nai takes the fee kept over the *lodha*. The bride leaves the *dal* in the hands of the Nai and is then led to the right of the groom.

The moving of the cloth around the pole and the couple was explained by my informants as a symbolic substitute of the original practice of the couple transambulating the *madow* pole. The seven small piles of lava kept over the *lodha* stone is said to be an adaptation

of the rite of *Sapta-pada* or seven steps, which requires the couple to put forward the required number of steps to the recitation of *mantras* that emphasise ways of family concord.

Sindoor :

The next rite—that of the groom placing vermillion on the forehead of the bride—is of prime importance. The priest calls for the vermillion vase brought by the *barath* and recites a series of *mantras* over it. Then, before he hands it over to the groom, he takes out part of the vermillion and wraps it in a paper. This is kept safe by the groom's party to be taken back along with them. The groom turns west, facing the bride. The latter gets up from her squatting posture and remains crouching. The Nai and the Nain help loosen the bottom flaps of the groom's wedding gown and enclose the bride within them. The Nain removes the bride's veil under the gown and exposes her forehead for the groom to apply vermillion. He upturns the vase and empties out the *sindoor* which the Nain immediately presses into the parting of the bride's hair. At this moment some one rushes to the *madow* pole and picks out the *sugga* which he dismembers and distributes the several images of parrots among the assembled kin. The priest and the Nain receive a rupee each as their fees.

Then the couple exchange their places. The groom's plank is lifted from its place and placed to the right. The bride sits to the left of the groom on her leaf-plate. The priest recites hymns addressed to the goddess, *Gouri*, when the bride, aided by the Nain, dips the pointing finger of her right hand in vermillion and puts a mark on the cow-dung image. Again the couple change sides, following which the Nain joins their garments, tying up in the knot a little lava and one anna supplied by the groom's party. This joining of apparel is called *gath-bandhan*.

The priest stands up and recites aloud the finale of the *vivah* hymns. At this time the Nain of the bride's village massages his legs. The massaging serves the purpose of conveying the Nai's respects to the doyen of the *purjans* who cooperate together in the celebration of a marriage. The priest pays him four annas, making the generous gesture of shedding a part of his larger fees in favour of an inferior *purjan*.

Finally, the father or guardian of the groom sprinkles *akshit* rice from his crossed fists over the couple whose matrimony had just then been consecrated. With this ends the chief part of the marriage ceremonies and the groom and the bride are taken for all social and ceremonial purposes as having entered the stage of wedded union.

Chumna and Kohabar :

As a prologue to the day's ceremony, a few more rites ensue. All the men disperse from the *madow* and five girls come forth to perform *chumna*. Each picks up *dub* or mango leaves in their hands and touches the couple on the ankles, knees and shoulders. The couple are led into the *kohabar* room and allowed to sit down facing the painted wall. The Nain takes care of the *mauri* on the bride's head. The bride's mother tries to remove the *maur* of the groom. He does not allow her to touch it until he is given a cash present.

A platter with curd and sugar mixed in it is placed before the couple. The groom dips his finger in this delicacy and tries to make the bride lick it. But, generally, the faultless veil defeats his attempts. Next, the Nain leads the hand of the bride, dips a finger in the platter and rubs the delicacy over the lips of the groom.

THE SECOND DAY

Televaiya :

The next morning, the bride's family supplies the groom with a new *dhoti*, oil and turmeric, all arranged in a platter. The groom takes his bath after anointing himself with oil and turmeric, and then dons the new *dhoti*. This practice is called *televaiya*.

Khichodi :

In the afternoon, the ceremony of *khichodi* takes place. This word literally means a preparation of rice and pulse which forms the chief item of the feast served to the groom on this occasion. The groom sits in the *madow* in the company of the best-man, and relatives, numbering five in all. The food is served, but the groom does not touch it until he is given a present. The bride's people place a little sum of money on the leaf-plates of the groom and of the best-man and watch the reaction. The groom sits still with no change in his attitude. After a calculated waiting, the bride's father brings forth some more articles which are generally decided upon earlier. Still the groom pretends to be uninterested for a long while, until his own father or guardian steps forth and asks him to be considerate and take the food.

At a Thakur's marriage, the groom's company numbered eleven and all of them were paid two rupees each besides the initial present of ten rupees for the groom. Later, the groom was given a cycle. In the Ahir's wedding, the groom and the best-man were paid two rupees and one rupee respectively and the former got, in addition, a set of five utensils. The Lohar groom was paid forty rupees and a set of vessels,

Barka Chawal :

The next ceremony is called *barka-chawal*, meaning rice of the wedding. The groom and the bride are seated in the *madaw*. A leaf-plate is placed in front of the groom with a pile of rice over it. Another empty leaf-plate is kept before the bride. The groom raises a portion of the rice in his two hands and places it in the hands of the bride. She leaves it on the leaf-plate in front of her. The groom repeats the process. After he does so for five times, the bride returns the rice in a like manner. Then the groom is expected to pack the rice in his upper cloth using a single hand. He holds the corners of the cloth in his right hand, keeping a bit of the central portion under his foot. As the rice is poured into it by the Nai, he twists the cloth until the rice is secured by the windlass formed of the upper flaps which he turns into a simple knot.

Anchar Dharai :

The bride retires from the *madaw* and another ceremony, *anchar-dharai*, is held. A few women including the bride's mother, sister-in-law and other kin enter the *madaw* and stand before the groom. He catches each one of them by the *saree* beginning with the bride's mother, and lets them out only on receiving cash presents from them. The women other than members of the bride's family who enter the *madaw* on this occasion are generally those standing on reciprocal terms and at whose place, on a similar occasion, a member of this household would have offered similar presents.

Madaw-Hilana, Phagua and Milna :

Among the lower castes, like Ahirs and Lohars, the groom returns back to his village on the same evening. So, immediately after *anchar-dharai*, the following rites of *madaw-hilana*, *phagua* and *milna* take place. Among the Thakurs and Brahmans, however, they take place on the following morning, as the *barath* in their case spends two nights in the bride's village. And if the bride is not to follow the groom immediately, even the *barka-chawal* and *anchar-dharai* ceremonies are celebrated on the next morning itself. When the bride also has to depart with the inevitable wailings, it is thought that it would be good to perform on the previous day itself the rite of *barka-chawal*, which requires the bride also to sit in the *madaw* and exchange rice with the groom.

Madaw-hilana literally means shaking the pavilion. A few persons of the *barath* party including the guardian of the groom catch hold of the roof of the *madaw* and shake it. The bride's father at that moment drops down a few rupees. He may actually keep a

currency note in the roof which drops down when it is shaken. This is collected in an outstretched cloth held by the *barath* members.

Next, the groom's father or guardian plays *phagua* on the womenfolk of the bride's household. The women sit with their faces veiled and the former sprays water on them. The Nai goes about with a platter containing *pan* and *panchameva* (five dry fruits). A select batch of women take a little dry fruit and betel and offer money in the platter. This is taken by the groom's guardian.

Finally, when the visiting relatives are about to set out, the *milna* ceremony takes place. As the *barath* party packs up and walks out of the camp, members of the *garath*, too, follow the former to a nearby open space. There the two sections line up in two rows, facing each other. Select members of the *garath* walk one by one, to the other side. Each picks up a counterpart, hugs him and offers him a rupee. This money is supplied by the bride's family. This practice has the import of strengthening the newly created bond of kinship between members of either side. The Ahirs show off their penchant for acrobatics even while observing this practice. Some of the persons, while hugging their counterparts, suddenly jolt them down flat on the ground. After this, the *barath* moves away.

In the case of a *dola* marriage, the *anchar-dharai*, *madow-hilana* and *phagua* ceremonies are omitted, because the womenfolk of the bride's family are not present at the groom's place where the wedding takes place, and there is no *madow* with a roof.

When the groom returns alone to his village after the marriage, the arrival is not marked with any ceremony. The *barath* party, however, takes care to bring *barka-chawal*, the little quantity of rice ceremonially packed in a small cloth by the groom, and the packet of vermilion kept apart before the *sindoor* ceremony is performed. They also bring the *mauri* worn on the bride's head, while the *maur* or the groom's crown is left behind at the bride's village. On the next day the ceremonies of *bandwar* and *banni puja* take place.

Bandwar :

This word is a corruption of *bandhan-war*, meaning removal of band. Both at the bride's and the groom's place, on the morning following the departure of the groom, worship is offered to all the gods of the village. The women of the household, followed by kinswoman, visit all the shrines and sacred spots of the village. The Kohar woman carries the *kalsa* pot, and the Nain carries with her in a winnowing plate a little oil, the *dhundhies* kept in the *kohabar* room on Matri Puja day and vermilion that would have been brought back by the *barath*. Reaching a tank nearby, they consign to the water the *mauri* or *maur* as the case may be. At the bank, they

mark dots of oil and vermilion and deposit a *dhundhi*. If the tank is dry, the *maur*, or *mauri* is buried in the tank bed and oil and vermilion dots are marked over the surface. Then the women visit every place of worship in the village, clean the image with the water from the *kalsa* pot and dot it with oil and the specially chosen vermilion.

On their return, the ceremony of removing the *kangan* or wrist-band takes place. The services of a Pandit are essential at this time, even though they can do without him for the aforementioned worship of the deities. The bride or the groom sits in the *madow* and the priest conducts a small *hom*. Reciting a series of *mantras*, he removes the *kangan*. If the bride has followed the groom to the latter's place, they both sit in the *madow* side by side and go through the ceremony together.

The *kangan* is thrown into a tank. The *kalsa* pot which is now empty and the *chul* with four openings are placed at a safe place, mostly over the store shelf that lies close to the rafters of the house. These two objects have to be preserved for one full year.

Banni Puja :

After the *kangan* is removed the goddess Banni is worshipped. A widow prepares a special meal on this occasion. The rice packed by the groom on the occasion of *barka-chawal* ceremony goes into this preparation. The oven of the ordinary type which is made by the Nain on the day of *haldi-madow* is used for cooking. The widow bathes in water which she shall have herself brought from the pond. Then she prepares a meal of rice, black gram and such other preparations as *pakaudi*. The cooked rice is pressed into five balls and placed on five leaf-plates in front of the painted wall in the *kohabar* room. On these leaf-plates other items of food are also served. Between the wall and the row of leaf-plates is kept a wooden plank, on which the Banni image is to be installed.

For the Brahmans and Thakurs the priest himself brings with him the image of Banni in the form of a ring tied to a piece of red thread. The other castes keep their own images. The image I saw was in the shape of a short open tube made of silver.

The bride and the groom sit before the image and the priest conducts the worship. At that time, a wick is lighted in an earthen saucer filled with *ghee*. The flame of this lamp should not be seen by the daughters of the village, whether married or unmarried, and by the unmarried girls of the other villages, who might be present as guests on this occasion.

The five balls of rice are mixed together. This rice is distributed among all the kith and kin of the village. At the time of worship,

usually a rupee is offered to the goddess. With this money a silver bead is made and slung on the thread along with the image to commemorate that particular wedding. Until the bead is made, this money is tied along with Banni in a turmeric-dyed cloth.

THE BRIDE'S ARRIVAL AT THE HUSBAND'S PLACE

Among the Thakurs and the Brahmans the girls are married generally after puberty. Hence in these castes the bride generally follows the groom to the latter's place immediately after the marriage. Among the lower castes the couple are generally very young and the departure of the bride to her husband's place occurs a few years later *i.e.*, after the girl attains puberty. Even among the Thakurs and Brahmans, sometimes the bride is not immediately sent to her husband's place for certain reasons. In all these cases of delayed departure of the bride, another ceremony called *gauna* takes place on the appointed day, when the groom again comes to the bride's village and, after necessary rites and feasts, returns with his bride.

The departure of the bride is marked by profuse, formal wailings. Her mother ties in her *anchal* a little grain, turmeric and a few rupees. Along with her are sent *khoichha* a package containing a few handful of rice, jaggery, *puries*, *dhundhis* and a metal cup containing mustard paste and a rupee. Also, a mattress is sent with her, spread in the palanquin for the duration of the journey and to be retained with her in her home of adaptation. The bride and the groom set out in separate palanquins after the *parichhan* is performed with *lodha* pestle and a tumbler of water. On reaching the outskirts of the groom's village, the palanquins are lowered, when the groom steps out of his and gets into the bride's palanquin. The upper flaps of their garments are joined together in *gath-bandhan*. Some kinswoman of the groom greets them there with a tumbler of *dhar*, which she empties on the ground.

On arrival at the entrance of the groom's house, the womenfolk of the family receive the couple with the usual *parichhan*, whereupon the *gath-bandhan* is removed. As the bride steps out, she walks the first five paces not on ground but on an interspaced row of baskets in which a little grain and pulse is spread. Those who can afford it, keep five baskets in a line. Otherwise the five paces are managed with only two baskets, each being moved forth after the bride sets her feet on the other.

Then the couple are led to the *kohabar*. At the entrance of this room, the groom's sister or paternal aunt stands in the way and does not allow the bride to move ahead until she gets a cash present—generally a rupee. Inside the *kohabar* the couple sit facing the wall, when a platter of curd and sugar is placed before them. The groom

dips his finger in this delicacy and tries to reach it to the lips of the bride. The bride's hand in turn is led by the Nain to carry the curd and sugar to the lips of the groom. Thereupon the groom's paternal aunt or sister removes from the bride's *anchal* the few rupees which the latter's mother would have tied in before her departure. She takes this money as her due.

The groom walks out of the *kohabar* room. The kinswomen step in and approach the bride, one after the other and lift her veil. As they do so, they offer a cash present to the bride. After this, the Nain of the groom's family sets about massaging the legs of the bride with the turmeric paste brought from the latter's place. As a reward for this service, she appropriates the rupee in the cup. Among the Thakurs, the Nain massages the bride on every day for a whole month and claims the saree which she wears on the first day.

After a fortnight or a month, on an auspicious day, the bride for the first time cooks food in her husband's house. She prepares *kheer* with the rice and jaggery she shall have brought along with her in *khoichha*. This forms the main item of food which she prepares on this day and serves on plates to the members of the family who offer a little money before they begin to eat. This ceremony is called *tharia ka chhenkai*, which means withholding of platters.

PARJAN AMONG THE DHODIAS

D. H. KOPPAR

The Dhodias constitute an important tribal community in the Surat and Thana districts of the Bombay State. More than any others they are 'a tribe in transition'. The circumstances in which they left their original homes and hearths and migrated to the south of the Narmada are still to be investigated. While some of them penetrated into the hills and forests, many of them today are found to have settled in the plain regions. Accordingly during the course of centuries, it is not surprising that they have undergone substantial changes in their cultural development. But it is still observable that they have retained intact their original customs and habits while gradually establishing contacts and receiving influences from the more advanced classes in recent times. One such custom they have retained is the 'Parjan' which forms the subject of the present article.

What is Parjan? Whatever the origin and import of the word 'Parjan' philologically, we are only concerned here with the meaning that the word has imparted to the tribal communities here. It may be stated that, in simple terms, the word 'Parjan' means and is equivalent to the 'Shraddha' of the Hindus. But interestingly enough, it is not performed every year by the people. The usual custom is to perform it once in four or five years. The reasons for such a custom are to be sought in the simple fact of their economic condition. One sees here in the birth of this custom a fine blending of their respect for the time-honoured custom and a practical remedy for easing the yoke of their economic strain. The gains, if any, are positive in their character.

'Parjan' is a ceremony to conjure with. It seems that it is performed from times immemorial. This custom appears to be Dravidian in its origin. Apart from the magico-religious significance of this custom, it has another significant secular function. And that is that it enables the people living in different places to gather in one place and thus acts as a cementing force which binds the whole people and their community. Men and women freely move in the congregation and the ideas they exchange, the reciprocal influences that they come under, consciously or unconsciously, would seem to go a long way in their all round development. One sees in the congregation no complexes, no inhibitions. The pure, unsophisticated folk would seem to enjoy even in the midst of sorrow.

The purpose of the Parjan, therefore, is to commemorate the anniversary of the dead and in the true sense of it, the whole function

is meant not only to commit to memory the dead but also to pray for the eternal peace of his soul. It should be understood that they believe in the life after death. The Parjan is in a way a community *shraddha* performed by members bearing the same family name for their respective dead ones. The whole procedure from the beginning to end is one of abiding interest. We shall now review the parjan as performed among the Dhodias.

The family which undertakes to perform the parjan has also to undertake full responsibility for the necessary arrangements. The Bhagat will select *muhurt* for the prospective family and then invitations will be extended to nearly all the members bearing the same family name. It may be that these persons may be living in different parts of the land. It is therefore interesting in this context to understand the nature and method of their invitations. Suppose there are fifteen days now remaining for the performance of the parjan ceremony. Thus fifteen days will be represented by fifteen knots either on a piece of cloth or a string specially made for the purpose. The inviting family sends it by a messenger to the next family and it will be the responsibility of the receiving family to pass on the knotted cloth or a string to other families either in the same village or to the next. Each family receiving the invitation will understand the exact number of days left by counting those knots and pass it on to the next at the same time taking care to loosen one knot plus as many knots as the days spent in receiving the invitation. This procedure continues to the end and each family in receipt of the invitation makes preparations to attend the function and the number of knots remaining on the invitation cloth or string will clearly tell each recipient the number of days actually remaining for the function to begin.

Each participating family will have to contribute a sum of Rs. 4/- or Rs. 5/- towards the function which is obviously meant to defray the expenses that may be incurred for necessary arrangement. So, on the particular day fixed for the performance of the ceremony, all the families gather together. It should be noted that the ceremony starts at about nine o'clock in the night, and lasts throughout the night and practically till the evening of the next day when the gathering disperses. As far as I understand, there is no community dinner.

We shall now turn to the site where the Parjan takes place. A large area measuring about four to five *bighas* is selected for the accommodation of the gathering and in the centre of it, a small hut of toddy leaves and branches is erected. It measures about eighteen feet by twelve feet and is divided into two parts by a wall of toddy leaves. In the right room facing the entrance of the hut, the actual Parjan ceremony is performed. The other left half of the hut is kept for the ladies of the particular family which has initiated the

ceremony. The invitees who come in carts or by walking will have their respective camps on the open ground.

The room where the Parjan is performed is regarded as a sacred place. In the centre of the room, a *mandal* of rice is spread on the ground, having its diameter of about three feet. The *mandal* consists of many star-like circles drawn on it. In the centre of the *mandal* is placed a medium-sized earthen pot filled with water and having a tap-like arrangement for which water falls on the *mandal* drop by drop through the help of a string. The upper half of the top is covered with a piece of white cloth. An earthen bowl with oil is placed on the pot and is meant to serve the purpose of a lamp. A big bamboo basket serving as *chhatra* on the *mandal* is kept, held a little high on the *mandal* and supported with two small sticks on either side of the *mandal*. All this is called *jung*.

The *jung* is prepared by the Bhagat who discharges the function of a priest-in-chief, and under whose guidance the head of the family performs the parjan. He is divested of all clothes except a *langota*. The same will be the condition of the head of the family in so far as dress goes. Another important man is the Nayaka-songster. He directs the whole ritual performance of the parjan through his songs. Some near relatives of the family occupy their seats around the *jung*. Now the function begins. Standing back on the right side of the 'jung' the head of the family does something like the *samprokshana* round the *jung* twice or thrice and the *arghya* that is left in a *thali* is then taken by another man to be thrown out. While doing so, he carries a sickle in his hand so as to enable him to do away with any evil spirits that may possibly come to attack him. Herein we find the magico-religious aspect of the function. Not only the existence of evil spirits, such as ghosts, is believed but the people seem to be well aware of the wrath of the family ghosts.

All the time the ritual songs continue without stop. The ritual part of the songs being over, the songster introduces ancient stories of 'Ramayan' and 'Mahabharata' in his songs. He sings them with a melody to the accompaniment of his musical instrument called the *ghangali*. The purport of such songs seems to be to alleviate the sorrow of the family for their particular dead ones. As such, the whole philosophy appears to imply that death, after all, is nothing but a change of life and that there are many promises held out for the dead in heaven. Thus, these songs go a very long way in comforting the assembled families and to enable them to make life pleasant and easy so that they may be able to pray for the peace and happiness of the departed. One wonders whether he is not witnessing here some ancient Greek dramas. The entire atmosphere inside is invested with a situation at once grave and awe-inspiring. But

those, who are used to such situations, keep talking, as otherwise, complete silence prevail except for the melodramatic songs and the mass-weeping at intervals.

At an interval of nearly every half an hour, a call is given from the inside to the assembled families outside to cry. Amidst the blazing camp-fires, the shrill, resounding weepings of hundreds of people rend the sky and the atmosphere outside seems for a moment to have been invested with a sense of horror. The children of the families not knowing perhaps what their elders are doing or even weeping for, will have slept in a calm repose. All this continues through the midnight into the early mornings, when the Bhagat, being emotionally transported, becomes an oracle and answers any questions put by the persons.

The *jung* is kept probably till sunrise of the next morning and then it is taken out and all the rice and other things will be kept in the bamboo basket which had acted as '*chhatra*'. All the while, the light in the bowl which is burning is kept up to the last. The songs will also continue to be repeated. It is understood that formerly wine was freely used to inspire the whole performance. But since then the conditions being changed, regret for its non-availability rather than joy and satisfaction for the discarding of the vice is expressed by them.

We shall now turn ourselves for a moment to the participating families camping outside. It is expected that each family brings its own food-stuff and other necessary requirements for its stay. Of course, a few shops will be there to meet any urgent needs of the people. The next morning, though not important from the point of view of the performance, has a significance in that it provides an occasion and a platform for the assembled families to get themselves acquainted with each other. People will sit together in groups and with fire in front to warm them up and with tobacco to inspire them, they carry on their talks. Women busy themselves preparing food for their respective families. In the evening, the families disperse to their respective homes.

It may be noted that almost all the tribal castes observe Parjan in one or the other way and also in keeping with the spirit of their customs and traditions, the framework of which they are never prepared to disturb. But it may, however, be observed in this context that a gradual decadence is overtaking the people in so far as their customary practices in this particular direction are concerned.

Even among the Dhodias, certain differences in the observance of certain customs or more particularly the parjan itself may be noticed. I shall particularly refer here to the Dhodias of Rajpuri who seem to be a little bit advanced among them. No doubt, they generally submit themselves to the old and dying customs and

conventions. However, one cannot fail to notice a new element and a new spirit among them. We shall take parjan to illustrate our point. They generally follow the same practice as the other Dhodias but the introduction of 'Bhajans' in place of the 'songs' the purport of which is to give directions in respect of the manner and methods of the ritual performance, is by itself a new element. They told me that the songs did not agree with their sentiments. A new conflict between the old and the new order of life is quite visible particularly in this respect and also in other respects of life in general. They even employ the service of the Brahmin not only in this but on other occasions also.

Incidentally it may be noted that 'Parjan' is a term used for the death anniversaries of such tribes as the Dhodias, Dublas and Nayakas etc. While these tribes differ as regards the details of the performance, they essentially agree on a broad principle as symbolised in the Parjan. To the extent to which they differ in the details of their rites and rituals, their custom may be termed as derivative. But the Parjan as an essential feature of their mortuary rites, reveals their original ideas and customs.

A STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF HAIR ON THE DIGITS (HANDS) FROM ASSAM

KANTI PAKRASI and BHUBAN M. DAS

Danforth (1921) was first to show the special significance of the distribution of hair on the digits in the study of inheritance of hereditary characters of Man. He suggested that 'complete absence of hair on the middle segment of the fingers is a simple recessive trait in man'. Later on, Boyd & Boyd (1937, 1941) and Bernstein & Burks (1942) carried out further researches among the *White* people to establish Danforth's hypothesis. Again, Chopra (1953) investigated into the distribution and inheritance of the mid-digital hair (hands) among some Indians and several interesting facts were revealed in his study. He had explicitly shown the hereditary nature of the mid-digital hair in the Indians. In this paper an attempt has been made to show the nature of distribution and inheritance of the hair on the mid-digital region of the fingers (hands) in the people of Gauhati, Assam. Authors (Aug., 1955) very carefully examined 250 males and 50 females to record the presence or absence of hair on the middle segments of the fingers of the right and left hand respectively. They had also investigated 23 families with 126 individuals to determine the hereditary nature of the mid-digital hair.

From the investigation of the distribution of hair on the digits (hands) the following noteworthy facts have been observed :

(i) the hair is invariably present on the basal segments of all the digits and absent from all the terminal ones of the hands.

(ii) the middle segments of the digits show wide but interesting fluctuations in the distribution of hair.

(iii) the distribution of mid-digital hair on the right hand sometimes varies conspicuously from that of the left hand of an individual.

(iv) sometimes mid-digital hair are not present simultaneously on the hands of an individual.

Of the 250 male individuals examined, as many as 132 had no hair on the middle segments of the fingers of the hands (52.8%), and out of 50 female individuals examined, only 6 showed the presence of mid-digital hair on the hands (12%).

On examination of 118 male individuals who had hair present on the middle segments, the following distribution of mid-digital hair was found :

TABLE I

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF HAIR ON THE MIDDLE SEGMENTS OF THE FINGERS (HANDS) OF MALE INDIVIDUALS

Serial Number	Presence of hair on the middle segments	Hand	Number of cases Examined	%
1	Presence of hair <i>only</i> on the 3rd finger	<i>Right</i>	5	4.2
		<i>Left</i>	3	2.5
2	Presence of hair <i>only</i> on the 4th finger	R	21	17.8
		L	28	23.7
3	Presence of hair on 4th & 5th fingers <i>simultaneously</i>	R	3	2.5
		L	1	0.8
4	Presence of hair on 3rd & 4th fingers <i>simultaneously</i>	R	41	34.7
		L	38	32.2
5	Presence of hair on 2nd & 3rd fingers <i>simultaneously</i>	R	2	1.7
		L	2	1.7
6	Presence of hair on 3rd, 4th & 5th fingers <i>simultaneously</i>	R	33	28.0
		L	37	31.3
7	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th fingers <i>at the same time</i>	R	2	1.7
		L	2	1.7
8	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd & 4th fingers <i>at the same time</i>	R	1	0.8
		L	1	0.8
9	Presence of hair on <i>none</i> of the fingers	R	10	8.5
		L	6	5.1

On the other hand, on examination of 6 female individuals who showed the presence of hair on the mid-segments the following distribution was found :

TABLE II

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF HAIR ON THE MIDDLE SEGMENTS OF THE FINGERS (HANDS) OF FEMALE INDIVIDUALS

Serial Number	Presence of hair on the middle segments	Hand	Number of cases examined	%
1	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th fingers <i>at the same time</i>	<i>Right</i>	5	83.3
		<i>Left</i>	4	66.7
2	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd & 4th fingers <i>at the same time</i>	R	1	16.7
		L	2	33.3

Let us now compare our *data* (showing the distribution of hair on the mid-segments of the fingers (hands) of both male and female individuals of Gauhati) with those reported by Danforth and Chopra. The following table shows the comparison :

TABLE III

SHOWING A COMPARISON IN PERCENTAGES OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF HAIR ON THE MID-SEGMENTS OF THE FINGERS (HANDS) AMONG THE WHITES (DANFORTH), INDIANS (CHOPRA) AND INDIANS (AUTHORS)

			Authors		Danforth		Chopra		
			Hand	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
1	Presence of hair on 4th finger only	Right	17.8	×		15.6	17.6	18.6	11.1
		Left	23.7	×					
2	Presence of hair on 3rd finger only	R	4.2	×		×	×	×	3.7
		L	2.5	×					
3	Presence of hair on 4th & 5th fingers	R	2.5	×		×	×	×	×
		L	0.8	×					
4	Presence of hair on 3rd & 4th fingers	R	34.7	×		18.3	18.6	20.3	12.9
		L	32.2	×					
5	Presence of hair on 3rd, 4th & 5th fingers	R	28.0	×		20.6	6.2	20.3	5.5
		L	31.3	×					
6	Presence of hair on 2nd & 3rd fingers	R	1.7	×		×	×	×	×
		L	1.7	×					
7	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th fingers	R	1.7	83.3		3.3	2.1	5.5	1.8
		L	1.7	66.7					
8	Presence of hair on 2nd, 3rd & 4th fingers	R	0.8	16.7		×	×	×	×
		L	0.8	33.3					

Boyd has already provided us with a detailed information regarding the incidence of mid-digital hair in various populations of the world and in what follows, we shall compare our *data* with those tabulated by Boyd in *Genetics and the Races of Man*.

TABLE IV

SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF MID-DIGITAL HAIR IN VARIOUS POPULATION

Population	Place	No. male	Examined Female	Percent with mid-digital hair	
				Male	Female
<i>Russians</i>					
Georgians	N. Moscow	116	115	64.6	45.3
Russians	Karkhov	58	112	56.9	50.9
<i>Egyptians</i>					
Copts	Cairo	55	52	65.6	46.2
Moslems	Cairo	228	203	45.6	36.4
<i>Indians</i>	Gauhati	250	50	47.2	12.0
Arab Moslems	Baghdad	233	132	67.4	50.7
Armenians	Beyruth	165	172	62.4	61.6

From the table IV it is revealed that the incidence of mid-digital hair is dominantly higher on male digits than that of the females. Boyd, on the other hand, has expressed this opinion that 'there are probably racial differences in the incidence of mid-digital hair' and 'the extent of the racial variation, at least in these studies, would seem to be less than that shown by certain other hereditary character'.

The question as to whether the presence or absence of mid-digital hair is of hereditary nature had aptly been tackled by Bernstein and Burks who investigated 80 families with 178 children to establish the hypothesis that "more than a simple Mendelian pair of genes were involved" in the inheritance of this character. Authors in their investigation studied 23 two generation families with 126 individuals to probe into the nature of parental matings and their resultants relating to the heredity of hair on the mid-digital region of the fingers (hands).

Out of 22 two generation families, 8 families with both the parents lacking hair on the middle segments of the fingers were met with. These 8 families yielded 24 children of which 18 have no mid-digital hair on the fingers, while 6 show hair. Again, in the mating of an individual lacking mid-digital hair with its opposite with hair present on only one finger the majority of the resultants seems to obtain no hair on the middle segments. In our study, four families with $\text{Abs} \times 1\text{P}^*$ combinations yield 18 individuals of which 12 have no mid-digital hair, 5 show the presence of hair on all four fingers, and the remaining 1 acquires intermediate character. The frequent appearance of more of Abs character in such matings is probably due to scanty presence of hair (in one finger only) on the fingers of either of the parents. The individuals having Abs character are of the 'genotype D_0D_0 ' according to Bernstein and Burks who 'offered the hypothesis of five multiple alleles, D_0, D_1, D_2, D_3, D_4 (listed in order of increasing dominance) where the subscripts correspond to the number of fingers having mid-digital hair". 5 families of parental combinations $\text{Abs} \times 2\text{P}$ were studied, and out of 20 issues, 14 were of Abs character and 6 of intermediate character. One family of parental combinations $\text{Abs} \times 3\text{P}$ yielded three children who showed the presence of hair on four fingers (*i.e.* All (4P) character). Two families of parental combinations $1\text{P} \times 2\text{P}$ yielded 9 children. Of these children no child was of either Abs or intermediate character, all of them were of 4P character. Thus the fact of the dominance of this character in question becomes apparently substantiated.

From the above analyses it is also clear that the greater the intensity of hair presence the greater its dominance. This fact has also been registered in his study by Chopra. The above data of the authors may be stated in the following tabular form.

* Explanation given below.

TABLE V

SHOWING THE CHARACTER OF PARENTAL MATINGS AND THEIR RESULTANTS

Character of Parental Combinations	Number of Families	Absence	All	Intermediate.
Abs \times Abs	8	18	—	6
Abs \times 1P	4	12	5	1
Abs \times 2P	5	14	—	6
Abs \times 3P	1	—	3	—
1P \times 2P	2	—	9	—
2P \times 2P	2	1	2	3
2P \times 3P	1	1	—	1

Abs = Absence of hair on the mid-digital region of the fingers

1P = Presence of hair on one finger only

2P = Presence of hair on two fingers only

3P = Presence of hair on three fingers only

To illustrate more precisely the nature of parentalmatings and their resultants relating to the heredity of mid-digital hair of the fingers some of the genealogical charts that were recorded during our investigation are shown here. In the following charts M stands for *male* and F for *female* and what are written in the parentheses are the incidences of mid-digital hair.

CHART NO. 1.

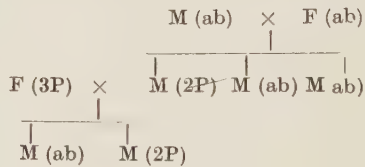


CHART NO. 2.

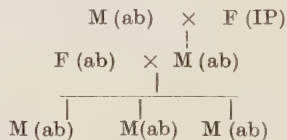


CHART NO. 3.

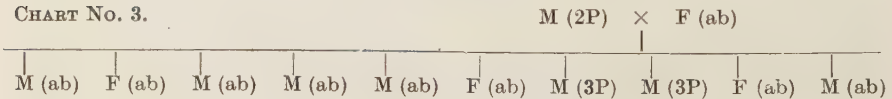


CHART NO. 4.

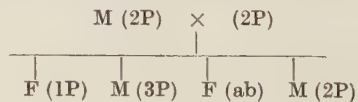
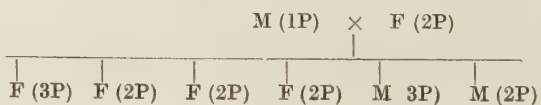


CHART NO. 5.



From the above genealogies it is clearly revealed that the presence or otherwise of hair is definitely hereditary in character. The solitary occurrence of a 2P character in a male child in the $ab \times ab$ mating (c.f., Chart No. 1) may be due to the effect of some "modifying factors that regulate the distribution of hair". Danforth's opinion is, of course, "sex may be one these factors".

Analysing our data in two aspects viz., (a) presence of hair, and (b) absence of hair, authors find that (i) mid-digital hair are more frequently present on the 3rd & 4th fingers simultaneously of the respective hand of an individual, (ii) less so on the 3rd, 4th, & 5th fingers at the same time of the respective hand, (iii) still less so on the 4th finger only of the respective hand.

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A NOTE ON THE RELATIVE LENGTH OF FINGERS IN A GROUP OF PRISONERS IN A U.P. JAIL*

BRIJESH KUMAR VERMA

The following is a note on the relative finger lengths of hands as found amongst 954 prisoners inhabiting a certain prison in U.P. Out of these 954 prisoners 240 were Brahmins, 123 Rajputs, 129 Ahirs, 31 Chamars, 39 Kurmis, 61 Pasis, 21 Lunia, 204 other Hindus and 106 Muslims.

METHOD

For these observations every hand was kept on the surface of a table with the palmar side downwards, the middle finger lying almost in the line of the axis of the lower arm, and all digits placed close to each other. Observations were made from over the dorsal aspect of the hand and the numbers of different digits (1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively for thumb, index finger, middle finger, ring finger and little

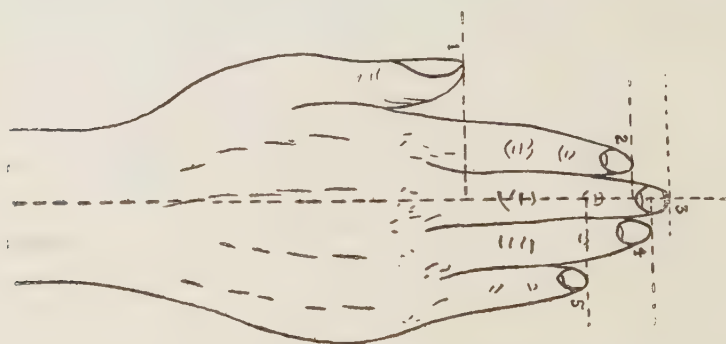


FIG. 1. The diagram shows the relative lengths of the digits in a human hand. The tangents drawn at the tip of the digits are perpendicular to the line of axis of the hand.

finger) were noted in succession according to their relative lengths *e.g.*, if in a hand I find that the middle finger is the longest, the ring finger ends a little behind it, the index finger ends even behind the ring finger, the little finger is even smaller and the thumb ends behind

* The paper is based on data collected in connection with a survey of convict population in U. P. Jails, undertaken by the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University and financed by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. I am grateful to Prof. D. N. Majumdar & Prof. C. R. Rao for permission to use the data.

the little finger, the numbers of the digits of that hand will be noted * as 3, 4, 2, 5, 1. The results of such observations are given below.

DATA

It is found that except the relative lengths of II and IV fingers, other fingers bear the same relation with one another with respect to their length. It is therefore found to be of interest to show in some detail the variability in relative length of the II and IV fingers respectively.

The percentage of hands with fourth digit longer than second or second digit longer than fourth or with both digits equal, have been shown in Table 1. The greatest percentage of hands bears the fourth digit as longer than the second. This is true for all Hindus and Muslims examined. Thus the most commonly found hand has the

TABLE 1

SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF HANDS CHARACTERIZED BY (a) FOURTH DIGIT BEING LONGER THAN SECOND OR (b) SECOND DIGIT LONGER THAN FOURTH OR (c) FOURTH DIGIT BEING EQUAL TO SECOND.

People's Section	Number of individuals	Percentage of Hands								
		Right & Left hands combined			Right hand			Left hand		
		Fourth digit longer than second	Second digit longer than fourth	Fourth and second digits equal	Fourth digit longer than second	Second digit longer than fourth	Fourth and second digits equal	Fourth digit longer than second	Second digit longer than fourth	Fourth and second digits equal
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Brahmans	240	69.8	18.35	11.85	60.8	22.1	17.1	78.8	14.6	6.6
Rajputs	123	61.4	22.75	15.85	50.4	26.8	22.8	72.4	18.7	8.9
Ahirs	129	73.3	14.0	12.7	66.8	18.6	14.6	79.8	9.4	10.8
Pasis	61	73.8	15.55	10.65	60.7	21.3	18.0	86.9	9.8	3.3
All Hindus	848	68.4	18.35	13.25	59.0	22.4	18.6	77.8	14.3	7.9
Muslims	106	71.25	14.1	14.65	64.2	16.9	18.9	78.3	11.3	10.4
Hindus & Muslims combined	954	68.75	17.85	13.4	59.6	21.8	18.6	77.9	13.9	8.2

digits in the order, 3, 4, 2, 5, 1 and this character is more common in left hand (77.9%) than in the right (59.6%). In 17.85% of all the hands the second digit is longer than the fourth, the percentage being 21.8 for the right hand and 13.9 for the left. Lastly, in 13.4% of all the hands, the second and fourth digits are almost equal, the percentage being 18.6 for the right hand and 8.2 for the left.

In all the groups noted in Table 1, we find that the percentage of hands with 4th and 2nd digits as equal is the lowest, except in case of the right hands of Muslims and the left hands of Ahirs.

TABLE 2

SHOWING THE RELATION IN LENGTHS OF SECOND AND FOURTH DIGITS IN THE PAIRS OF HANDS AS PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS POSSESSING SUCH PAIRS

People's Section	Number of individuals	Percentage of individuals								
		Pairs of Right and Left hands								
		R.4 longer than 2 L.4 longer than 2	R.2 longer than 4 L.2 longer than 4	R.4 longer than 2 L.2 longer than 4	R.2 longer than 4 R.4 longer than 2	R.4 equal to 2 L.4 equal to 2	R.4 longer than 2 L.4 equal to 2	R.2 longer than 4 L.4 equal to 2	R.4 equal to 2 L.4 longer than 2	R.4 equal to 2 L.2 longer than 4.
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Brahmans	240	60.8	13.3	×	7.1	5.0	×	1.7	10.8	1.3
Rajputs	123	47.9	15.5	2.5	9.8	7.3	×	1.6	14.6	0.8
Ahirs	129	64.3	8.5	0.8	8.5	7.8	1.6	1.6	6.9	×
Pasis	61	60.7	9.8	×	11.5	3.3	×	×	14.7	×
All Hindus	848	57.8	12.1	0.8	8.6	5.9	0.4	1.7	11.4	1.3
Muslims	106	63.2	11.3	×	2.8	6.6	0.9	2.8	12.4	×
Hindus and Muslims combined	954	58.4	12.0	0.7	8.0	5.9	0.4	1.8	11.5	1.2

It is worth noting that the cases, where 4th and 2nd digits are almost equal, are more in the right hands than in the left, and so is true with the cases where 2nd digit is longer than the 4th. To balance this fact, as we may say, the percentage of left hands with 4th digit longer than the 2nd is greater than that of right hands.

Now considering the right and left hands in pairs (Table 2) *i.e.*, the pair of hands with each individual, we find that in 58.4% of all the persons fourth digit is longer than the second in both the hands. This percentage varies from 47.9 in Rajputs to 64.3 in Ahirs. Leaving Pasis and Muslims, the next highest percentage (12.0 for Hindus and Muslims combined) is of those persons who have got second digit longer than the fourth in both the hands. Among Pasis the next highest percentage (14.7) is of those who have equal lengths of 4th and 2nd digits in the right hand but 4th digit longer than the 2nd in left. The same is the case with Muslims, the percentage being 12.4. Again, among Pasis the percentage of individuals with 2nd digit longer than the 4th in the right hand and with 4th digit longer than the 2nd in the left is appreciably high (11.5).

Rest of the percentages may be seen in Table 2.

During the course of observations it struck me that the difference in the lengths of 2nd and 4th digits $\{(2-4) \text{ or } (4-2)\}$ was often greater in the left hand than in the right. This difference, which I frequently noticed, may suggest that in the right hand the fourth and second digits have a greater tendency to be equal in length than in the left hand. I, therefore, examined hundred pairs of hands more closely and in each case measured the difference between the lengths of fourth and second digits by sliding calipers. Forty-two sets (pairs) of hands showed marked difference between the lengths of 2nd and 4th digits. Out of these 42, in 35 sets I found a greater difference in the left hands than in the right. Only in 7 sets I found a greater difference in right hands. While the average difference between the lengths of 2nd and 4th digits falls to 2.86 mm. when all the 42 sets of hands are considered, it runs to 4.80 mm. in the case of those 35 sets alone.

RESEARCH NEWS AND VIEWS

In 1953 J. T. Robinson, in a paper titled 'Meganthropus, australopithecines and hominids' attempted to show that specimens described *Meganthropus palaeojavanicus* and *M-africanus* seem to possess characters similar to those found in australopithecines. In a 1954 paper, Robinson thought it more appropriate to transfer *M-palaeojavanicus* (formerly called *Meganthropus palaeojavanicus*) to the genus *Paranthropus*. *M-africanus* was retained in the genus *Australopithecines* (better called *A-africanus*). The above expressed affinities have been severely criticised by Remane von Koenigswald who has rejected it for the Javan specimen. J. T. Robinson defends his statement in his article "Further Remarks on the Relationship between 'Meganthropus' and *Austropithecines*" *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, n.s. 13 : pp. 429-445 (1955). His arguments can be briefly summarised as follows :

Australopithecines are not pongids but they cannot be included among the true men (euhominids) without distinction. Robinson says that "they are a group on their own but are very closely related to the euhominids". They resemble pongids in their relatively small neurocranium flat nasal region and relatively heavy face. Their resemblance with the euhominids is marked in their erect posture with the concomitant pelvic structure and hominid-like dentition. In the massiveness of the post-canine dentition, the structure of the nasal cavity floor and massiveness of mandible they sharply differ from the euhominids. On the basis of his 'brain-molar coefficient' von Konigswald argues that prehominids are not euhominids. Accepting this argument Robinson fails to see how this debars an australopithecine from having been ancestral to euhominids. "Hence, if an australopithecine continued the observed tooth reduction and also increased its brain size, a euhominid condition would have resulted, complete with appropriate 'brain-molar coefficient'".

Neither *Paranthropus* nor *Australopithecus* could have been ancestral to euhominids. *Telanthropus*, though not a true australopithecine, has distinct australopithecine affinities as well as also clear euhominid affinities. So ancestral hominids had australopithecine type characteristics. On the basis of this affinity the possibility of an australopithecine being ancestor of euhominids is not absolutely ruled out. Between the *Paranthropus* line and the *Australopithecus* line there must have been a third australopithecine line having characters of both of these forms.

Robinson does not see any reason why "Meganthropus" cannot be regarded as an australopithecine. Since 'Meganthropus' and *Pithecanthropus* were present in Java at the same time so the former cannot be regarded as an early euhominid ancestor to the latter.

Even if we take it to be correct 'Meganthropus', having the qualities in brain-size and erect posture of an ancestral euhominid to Pithecanthropus, does not cease to have main australopithecine features.

von Koenigswald regards the 'Simial gap' in Pithecanthropus IV as important, especially so when australopithecines lack this feature, because it "is a very primitive characteristic which might be expected in an early human forerunner". According to Schultz maxillary diastema is not a simple feature and Robinson finds it quite an unsafe procedure to use this diastema in predicting euhominid ancestors and their canine size. Maxillary diastema are not sporadically found among the euhominids. They are very common among the pongids. Maxillary diastema is not characteristic of euhominids in general and is not to be found in Telanthropus or australopithecine material. So it can only be said that Pithecanthropus is the 'only hominid' of which maxillary diastema is characteristic. Under such circumstances, the only logical conclusion according to Robinson would be "that Pithecanthropus is well off the main stream of euhominid evolution and secondarily acquired some pongid like features—as the classic Neanderthal did later. The absence of this diastema in the australopithecines and Telanthropus would then favour their being (as a group) in the line of descent rather than millitate against it" On the basis of present evidence he regards "the australopithecines from South Africa as well as the East African and Javan forms, as variations on a common theme".

* * * * *

In his paper "Retardation in Growth of Children in Europe and Asia during World War II", published in Human Biology, Vol. 27, No. 4 (December, 1955) Stephen D. Markowitz has tried to scan the conditions (internal as well as external) which had affected the growth of children in the Eurasia. He has utilised curves for war years which were compiled for weights of newborns as well as for heights of children from year to year. The effect of war environment on growth can also be shown by comparing the heights and weights of children during the war with a pre-war standard.

In a period preceding World War II by half a century there had been a tendency throughout the world for weight and height to increase within each age group from newborn to adult. World War II has provided an experimental situation for the study of growth. From the studies of heights and weights of children and weights of newborn infants in Japan, China, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Holland, Finland, and Russia Markowitz reaches the general conclusion that there was retardation in growth during World War II. Markowitz envisages an unseperable

role of nutritional as well as psychological factors. Nutrition certainly affects growth but there does not seem any possibility to isolate the factor of food shortage in the war situation. 'When and where food was scarcest, growth was usually most retarded, but there, also conditions for emotional upset was at a maximum'. The author says that the significant role played by psychological factors still remains to be determined.

* * * * *

Ghaus Ansari has written on Muslim marriage in India in "Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen" (Vol. III, No. 2, Vienna 1955). The article gives the tradition as framed in Arabia over 1300 years ago, and shows how after coming into India and settling down here, Muslims gave a lot to the Hindu way of life and absorbed a lot from it. (The reader is referred to the previous issue of this journal which carries an article on Caste among Muslims). The result was a composite Hindu-Muslim culture. The student of Indian Sociology feels that whereas the Hindu way of life is the product of the soil, and whereas its earliest form still provides a good frame of reference, the same cannot be said about Muslim institutions. Any attempt to explain them, as they obtain in India, without reference to the modifications they have undergone would amount to sociological naivete. This is amply borne out by Mr. Ansari's paper who makes a scientific approach to his subject.

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Vol. 57, No. 6, Part I (December 1955) issue of the *American Anthropologist* is a special number devoted to the U.S.A., as anthropologists see it. Schneider, D. M., and Hormans, George C., write on kinship system. Their conclusion is "Far from 'being pushed to the wall' and distorted by values from outside kinship" (these are commonly held notions about American kinship), the American kinship system embodies in clear and communicable form the essence of the dominant values of the whole culture even while it manages to discharge those functions of universal kinship systems, those social functions which are pre-requisite to the maintenance of any social and cultural system".

* * * * *

An international Conference on Human Relations has been organised at Berg en Dal, Nijmegen, Netherlands, on September, 3rd—15th, 1956. The theme of the Conference is, Research into Factors

Influencing Human Relations, how do the problems of human relations manifest themselves in various countries, general organisation of centres for research and application in the field of human relations, interaction between research and application in the field of human relations, fundamental research into human relations, change and resistance to change in human relations and the philosophical background of human relations. During the Conference several plenary sessions will be held, when speakers from several parts of the world hold lectures on certain aspects of human relations. A large part of the Conference, however, will be devoted to discussion at sectional meetings. Each section will be presided over by a chairman and a vice-chairman, who have been invited from the participants. At the end of the Conference rapporteurs will report at a plenary session on what has been discussed at the various sectional meetings. Among those who will lecture at the plenary sessions, are Dr. Joseph Folliet, Prof. Oliver Brachfeld, Prof. Bene Konig, Prof. Anton Terstenjak, Prof. Gustave Thibon, Prof. Arnold Gehlen, Prof. Fenna T. Diemer, Prof. K. A. Busia, Prof. Paul Devanandan, Prof. D. N. Majumdar, Prof. Hamza Boubakeur, Prof. Edgar T. Thompson, Prof. L. A. Costa Pinto, Prof. Ghulam Jilani, Prof. Erich Rothacker, Prof. R. Riccardi, Prof. Guido Fischer, Prof. A. T. M. Wilson, and H. E. Dr. D. U. Stikker.

The President of the Honorary Committee of the Conference is H. E. Dr. W. Drees, Prime Minister, the Hague and the President of the Steering Committee is Prof. F. J. Th. Rutten.

REVIEWS

MOTIF-INDEX OF FOLK-LITERATURE—A CLASSIFICATION OF NARRATIVE ELEMENTS IN FOLKTALES, BALLADS, MYTHS, FABLES MEDIAEVAL ROMANCES, EXEMPLA, FABLIAUX, JEST-BOOKS AND SOCIAL LEGENDS (REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION) BY STITH THOMPSON, INDIANA UNIVERSITY; COPENHAGEN, ROSENKILDE AND BAGGER, INTERNATIONAL BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS, PART OF VOLUME ONE.

This is monumental contribution in six big volumes of over six hundred pages each. The present review is based on a sample copy which is only one-third of the first volume. It is difficult to say any thing conclusive on the basis of such a partial study. But it is fortunate that the present volume contains some introductory remarks by the compiler. This has made it possible to have a more comprehensive view than it would have been without it.

The need and utility of a systematic and comprehensive classification of the different aspects of culture is too well-known to the student of anthropology to be emphasised. The pioneering step by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland gave us *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*. Recently Murdock and others have given us a more comprehensive frame work for the study of culture in their *Outlines of Cultural Material*. These two works do not and could not deal with Folk-Culture in great detail. There has been need of a systematic but detailed classification of the huge material on various kinds of traditional narratives to be found throughout the length and breadth of the entire globe. We realise that tremendous labour and understanding need be put in in order to bring order where there is nothing but chaos. The task is to devise a generalised pattern out of the Folk-Tales of different regions with their specificities. Rightly "to reduce the traditional narrative material of the whole-earth to order" the only way out is to classify single motifs instead of full-fledged narratives. Like *Outlines of Culture Material* this present work has the advantage of having utilised the knowledge of the modern library science.

The compiler and editor himself admits that "certain aspects of folklore have been definitely omitted". He has not treated superstitions, customs, religious beliefs, riddles or proverbs as separate categories. We fully realise his difficulty because it would have doubled the size. But this should not make us think that these aspects of folklore can never be indexed separately.

It is quite correct to use simple principles which are more scientific than to complicate the things unnecessarily. But it is difficult to

agree with the compiler on the utility of psychological basis of the narratives in classification. The reason according to him is that "though such considerations have value, they are not, I think, of much practical help toward the orderly arrangement of the stories and myths of a people". We feel that not only in mythologies but in all folklore of all peoples the psychological factors are very important. Their analysis might reveal the real motivating factors under the narratives. Their proper understanding will certainly help us in ordering the stories, because even different peoples might think in a similar way, if not identical, about similar problems such as the origin of universe etc., the significance of psychological factors is greater in such a generalised study as the present one.

The compiler and the editor is of the opinion that here the stock-in-trade of motifs have been classified which have been used by story tellers, of the days of Homer and before, for constructing their stories. But this 'stock-in-trade of motifs' is not only for the well-known European folktales, but for those of all the world, claims the editor. Without doubting its great contribution in furnishing a frame work for all subsequent studies in comparative storyology we fear if the editor's claim of its true international character is wholly justifiable. At least we in India, feel that the Indian mythologies and folktales are far from being adequately represented. This can be very well realised from the fact that out of about five hundred titles in 'Bibliography and Abbreviation' hardly six or seven titles refer to Indian mythologies and folktales directly. One can hardly fail to note that only three titles appear again and again in Index for Mythological Motifs. They are A. B. Keith's Indian Mythology (The Mythology of All Races); N. M. Penzer's The Story of Ocean and C. H. Tawney's *Katha Sarit Sagara*, Ocean of the Streams of Stories.

In spite of these few shortcomings, from our point of view, the editor has been successful in attaining the end of his study to a great extent, if not wholly, that "the multiform materials it treats become thereby easier of investigation and more convenient for reference".

Gopal Saran

* * * * *

THE SANTAL : A STUDY IN CULTURE CHANGE BY NABENDU DUTTA-MAJUMDAR, DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, GOVT. OF INDIA. MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 1956. PP. XVI+150. XIX PLATES AND 3 MAPS. PRICE Rs. 6/4/-.

This 129-page narrative—Herskovits in his foreword calls it a book, but the author himself refers to it as a 'paper' on page 19—

ought to have been a fifty-page paper entitled Culture Change among the Santal of Birbhum.

The author begins his book-length paper by referring to Kapila's theory of the cosmos as propounded in the seventh century B.C. Para two takes us to Greece and Heraclitus, and para three to Gautama Buddha, and so on, through paras four and five, to other Indian philosophers, and Plato and Aristotle, and Darwin, T. H. Huxley, Haeckel and others—telling us what they could do and could not do as regards the conception of a dynamic society. All this on a little over a page. Then we are taken through the history of anthropology upto the beginning of acculturation studies in three pages. The next seven pages, or eight, are a paraphrase of Herskovits's writings on culture change and acculturation. The next five pages refer to some studies of culture change already conducted among some Indian tribal groups by various investigators. And finally we are told that the Santal, culture change among whom is the main theme of the book, are represented in the book through that section of them which inhabits the Birbhum area. The materials, the author tells us, "were collected as a result of field investigations in August 1945." We are told that the author had earlier paid visits to the educational institutions, Santiniketan and Sriniketan, in the Santal area, and thus come in contact with them. "In addition to the above, *the writer spent about three months in 1933 at Sriniketan studying the rural reconstruction activities of that institution and frequently visited the neighbouring Santal villages.*" No comment, is required, besides supplying the emphasis to the author's own statements, which has been done; the italics are not the author's.

The author says that he used the ethno-historical method in the writing of the book. We have already pointed out the extent of his ethnographic investigation. We may only add that, on page 66, the author informs us that most of his field data were collected in one single village.

The historical part of his method consists in the bringing together of some past accounts of the Santal.

The author's own field report is given in chapters five to eight (57 pages). He describes the material culture social life, and religion of the Santal of the village studied by him, and then writes a 14-page chapter on acculturation. This chapter is a filling in of the outline provided by Herskovits's writing on the subject. (This is obviously why Herskovits says in the foreword that an aim of the author's work is to test various hypotheses on acculturation.)

On the last page of the chapter on acculturation the author writes about the analysis of changes in Santal culture; he means his own work. Analysis is undoubtedly a sorely felt need of Indian anthro-

pology but that need for it cannot make us accept a disguised narrative analysis.

The concluding chapter, "Conclusion", does not give any suggestions for Santal rehabilitation as one might have expected the Director of the Government Department of Anthropology to do. For this omission he has received Herskovits's approval. The author refers to varying rates of culture change among various sections of the Santal without giving any quantified data to elaborate and justify the use of the word "rate".

On page 42 "siblings" is used for the members of the broad sib group of the Santal and contrasted against members of the smaller sib group. This is contrary to the general use of the term "sibling". On page 51 the Santal are said to believe in six natural causes of disease; these are not specified. On page 70 we are told that the Santal cannot milk cows nor have they been able to learn doing so. No explanation is given. On page 83 we are informed that on marriage a Santal woman acquires the membership of her husband's sib. Whether the Santal sib is different from the general type of the sib in some other respect too, we are not told. On page 106 we are told that no Bihar Hindu eats meat. This is not correct.

We learn that 'the paper' was the thesis for doctorate degree at the North Western University, U.S.A.—and fulfilled the requirements for the degree there. The question may be posed here, should the Government of India pay for the cost of printing Ph.D thesis of an officer, written ten years before he joined a Government Department?

H.G.

ANCIENT INDIA—No. 9. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. 1902–1952. SPECIAL JUBILEE NUMBER, 1953. EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA, NEW DELHI, PRICE. RS. 17/8/-.

The present number is issued in commemoration of the Jubilee of the Archaeological Department which completed its fifteenth year on the 21st February, 1952. It contains articles on the progress of archaeological activities in the country during the last half a century which are presented for assessment by competent critics. The work is divided into different sections and contains reviews from the pen of specialists. Mr. S. N. Roy traces the progress of archaeology from Jones to Marshall (1784–1902 A.D.). This was the era of Cunningham and Burgess. The former was essentially pre-occupied with topographical problems with a single idea of locating the holy places visited by the Chinese pilgrims. The father of Indian

archaeology was followed by Burgess who was more interested in architectural survey of ancient monuments. He insisted on 'providing a prettyfull illumination and history of ancient and mediaeval architecture down to the decline of the Mohammadan styles.'

A new era dawned for Indian archaeology with the coming of Lord Curzon resulting in the reconstituting of the Archaeological survey and the appointment of Sir (at that time Mr.) John Marshall as the first Director General. The fifty years of the archaeological Survey of India are reviewed by the present Director General in five stages—1902–1906; 1906–1921; 1921–1928; 1928–1937 and 1937–1953. By 1906 the survey had been established on a permanent basis, its policies had been well defined. The department was making headway progress in all branches. The constitutional reforms had far reaching consequences on the organisation of the survey. It was completely centralised and a ration between the European and Indian officers was also fixed. After Sir John's retirement in 1928, followed by world wide depression, there was an all round retrenchment in expenditure. This continued for sometime. Sir Leonard Wooley's fatal report and thorough criticism had been shaken the Department at a time when the Government was engulfed in the Second World War. With the arrival of Sir (then Dr.) Mortimer Wheeler numerous changes and all round improvements were made followed by excavations at different places conducted by a single directing mind. The schemes formulated by his successors were finalised by the Present Director General and resulted in the complete archaeological integration of India.

The progress in Pre-History is reviewed by Mr. V. D. Krishna-Swamy. The old Stone Age of India, which till 1930 was very loosely interpreted on the basis of the prevailing European nomenclature, can now be noticed in different parts of India; and it is hoped that by 1963 the centenary of Pre-historic research could be properly celebrated. Mr. B. B. Lal reviews the Proto-Historic investigation in the Indus and Guggar valleys and Baluchistan, the Upper Ganges Basin, Eastern India, Central and Western India and South India. The progress has belived the statement of V. Smith that India had no Bronze Age, and it was the general belief that Indian History began only with the Mauryas or Alexander's Invasion in 327–26 B.C.

The survey of Southern Indian Megaliths is made by Messrs. Srinivasan and N. R. Banerji, rather more comprehensively, and chronology is established on the basis of literary and archaeological pieces of evidence, as well as on the basis of the anthropological data. The Megaliths of India are all representatives of one common culture, characterised by the use of iron implements, the Wheel-turned Black-and-red Wave and post excarnation fragmentary and

collective burials. It is difficult to assess the time when it emerged on Indian soil or when it died away.

The exploration of historical sites is well treated by Dr. Y. D. Sharma and the results from each site are assessed and attempt at establishing coherence made. There is a comprehensive note on the 'Preservation of monuments' by Mr. Ramachandran, and on 'Archaeological Chemistry and Scientific studies' by Dr. B. B. Lal. A review of the epigraphical research is made by Dr. Chabys, Sircar and Desai and 'Museums in India' a survey, by Messrs. Sivaramamurthi and J. K. Roy.

There are a few maps, charts and a number of illustrations. This work might well be considered as a Bibliography of Archaeological Progress and Research within the last fifty years.

B. R. Puri

ANCIENT INDIA—NUMBER 10 & 11, 1954 & 1955: BULLETIN OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA, NEW DELHI. PRICE RS. 9/-.

The present number, as the editor points out, is largely devoted to the report on the excavations at Hastinapura and allied explorations carried out by the Department of Archaeology between the years 1950 and 1952. This work at Hastinapura is a well directed step towards the attainment of an objective—to bridge up the intervening gulf between the end of the Harappa Culture and the beginning of the historical age with the advent of the Mauryas. The famous epic city of Hastinapura in the Meerut District has yielded two different kinds of potteries—the first one represented with a crude ochre-coloured and the second one called the Painted Grey Ware. The second period ended due to a flood which is represented by a break in the occupation and it was followed by the people using the Northern Black Polish Ware. The second one is most important in the context, as it was found in a large number of sites in the Punjab and West Uttar Pradesh, and along the dried up valleys of the River Sarasvati in Bikaner where relics of the Harappa culture were also found. It is interesting to note that one or two pieces of Grey Ware pottery were also found in a soak-pit at the famous Laksmana Tila in Lucknow, and at Parihar in the Unao District. The gulf between the Painted Grey Ware and the N. B. P. could not have been much. A distinct break between the Harappa and painted Grey Ware levels at Rupar has established that there was no overlapping. The Painted Grey Ware People were Aryans.

This Painted Grey Ware, apart from its wider distribution, had a distinct influence on the later ceramic industries of Northern India

and probably merged into them. It has, however, been made clear that the excavations at Hastinapura have no bearing on the authenticity of the epic tale. The relations of the Harappans to the Painted Grey Ware People need closer examination. At Rupar the Harappans predeceased the advent of the Painted Grey Ware People, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that the descendants of the Harappans, after the end of their glorious days, lived somewhere in India and contributed the traits of their culture either directly through the Aryans or some other agency. It is rightly suggested that the excavations have narrowed the gulf of the Dark Age, but not filled it completely, and it will be necessary to concentrate alone of the Post-Harappan or Pre-Mauryan archaeology of north-west India.

There are a few other articles in this number—‘Angling in Ancient India’ by the late Dr. S. L. Hora, ‘The Pottery Industries of the Indo-Iranians’ by Mr. D. H. Gordon and a small note on ‘Preservation of Two Ancient Objects’ by Sri T. R. Gairola. The printing is good and get up fine, and there are a numerous plates and charts.

B. R. Puri

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